SPECIAL
COLLECTIONS
DOUGLAS
LIBRARY

QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY
AT KINGSTON

KINGSTON ONTARIO CANADA

A

PLAIN

PRACTICAL PLAN,

BY WHICH

GREAT BRITAIN

MAY

EXTRICATE HERSELF FROM HER PRESENT DIFFICULTIES,

PROCURE

THE BLESSINGS OF PERFECT PEACE,

PROSPERITY, AND HAPPINESS,

AND

DISPENSE THEM TO THE WHOLE WORLD.

BY GEORGE EDWARDS, ESQ. M. D.

" Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo."

LONDON:

PRINTED BY GEORGE SIDNEY, NORTHUMBERLAND-STREET, STRAND.

1808.

AC 911. 1808. E35

with real & humble
respect
from the author

REASONS *for circulating a* PLAIN PRACTICAL PLAN *of procuring a* PEACE, *in itself infinitely desirable, that may, at pleasure, be rendered the genuine uniform source of Human Prosperity and Happiness;—accompanied with different printed papers, either sent with the Plan, or ready to be supplied, as desired.*

THE Plan, with these other papers, are drawn up for the express purpose of being taken into the high consideration of Parliament, through the medium either of the members of the Legislature, or of different individuals, and corporate bodies, which possess influence sufficient to recommend them to such august deliberation. For aspiring to effect the above important purposes, in a manner that will bear the most scrupulous examination, it must necessarily devolve upon these parties, and not upon myself. Having devised and printed the Plan and Papers, it remains for me solely to circulate them with spirit and frankness: it is they who must voluntarily accept them; and, by giving the Plan its due effect, render it the justice which every interest of humanity requires from their hands.

On the other hand, Parliament should, and, most probably, would very readily take the Plan into consideration, because it has already found to be effectual the Income or Property Tax, the new mode of raising the supplies without additional taxes, &c. which were original discoveries of mine; likewise, because these are far inferior to others which my writings contain; and infinitely inferior to the present Plan, that comprises the whole.

I, therefore, profess myself a candidate, who aspires to receive, what would be the highest of recompenses to him, the thanks of Parliament, even for those labours of mine alone which Parliament has already sanctioned by its adoption, as well as those I am now endeavouring to bring before them,—a recompense I humbly claim, in order more effectually to recommend my labours to the patronage of my country at large, which I should be the basest of men to desert in any respect, and not to support by every means in my power. Parliament, which, comparatively speaking, can only have patronised far inferior objects, must, the less, neglect either them or me, because their services are of inappreciable importance, and the discovery of them would be worthy of a national expenditure of many more millions, than it has actually cost me countless thousands of pounds.

I however acknowledge, that there are personal considerations, highly affecting in themselves, that recommend to me the earnest solicitation of such parliamentary honours, as appear, in justice, to be my right. Among those considerations may be mentioned, the regret of being obliged to desist from the actual institution of a plan, which would be certain, both at the present, and in future times, to give universal satisfaction: the misrepresentation of its most valuable practical proposals, by speculative writers, in different periodical publications; and the contempt I must experience, of having failed in the grand object of my life, although this has succeeded beyond my warmest expectations, as far as I am personally concerned in its perfection.

It may, and ought, farther to be observed in respect of the merits alone of the pacific tendency of the plan, that it most materially differs from any form of peace wherewith the two nations, Great Britain and France, have hitherto been

acquainted, in its proper executive energies, and original combinations. In particular, the plan proposes to make peace between them, as the real friends of each other, whereas peace has, at all times, subsisted between them as natural enemies. It procures to both invaluable advantages, national and individual, which infinitely exceed what has ever been thought practicable; which will therefore render peace permanent, conciliate the people of both countries in its favour, and thus prevent it from being broken at the mere will of future tyranny, avarice, or ambition. It is, however, not more advantageous to the empire at large, than it is to the peculiar interests, and predilections, of hereditary monarchy, reconciling these with the true views of commerce and policy, and rendering sovereigns and their subjects as thoroughly united, as prosperous and happy. At the same time, it is attended with absolute security, exempting us from those dangers in the continuance of war, that are far greater than has been supposed: and, while it throws genuine lustre upon religion, reconciles all religions, employing them, in harmonious and effectual co-operation, upon the same important purposes which they each are destined to fulfil by the supreme Creator of all things.

But the plan tends to divert mankind from the figurative pomp of eloquence, and the entertaining, yet seductive, flow of language, as these render the regular study of national and individual welfare a secondary object, to the real and perfect study of all human interests. The plan of peace, consequently, becomes, in some degree, a subject of science or art, dependant on general principles, hence becomes in some degree an abstract consideration. On the other hand, is it not true, that peace, with its different interests, should become a subject of practical science, or of regular art, depending on proper principles? For has peace ever yet been made by Great Britain, according

either to art or science, and can it otherwise be expected, to be really permanent? Has it not thus become unstable, and void of all basis whatever, and unavoidable at the present crisis, to make peace on the surest foundations conformable both to art and science? In fine, it is the want of that scientific understanding which the plan proposes, why nations have hitherto remained under a system of fatal impolicy, war, misery, ruin, and the prodigal dissipation of all the advantages of industry and civilization: and it is the proper employment of the same scientific undertaking, which will produce the completion of national prosperity and happiness, bring peace to perfection, and render human happiness answerable to the intentions of Almighty God; which alone can rectify public affairs, and consummate our private interests.

To attain these interesting objects, we need only institute the undertaking, and it requires in reason no more than a fair, moderate support for the purpose. Its support requires no parliamentary interest, because it is the sacred duty of every man to bring it before Parliament: and it ought not to be supported by parliamentary interest, in order that the world at large may be perfectly convinced of its real merits, and genuine excellence, when they see it, in opposition to all objections that might have been expected from a narrow policy, and negligent application to so important a subject, succeed alone, through the long attention, comprehensive views, and active practice, of a humble individual, in national improvement, impartially approved by the legislature, and nation at large.

GEORGE EDWARDS.

No. 36, Leicester Square, London.
or, Barnard Castle, County of Durham.

G. Sidney, Printer,
Northumberland Street, Strand.

INTRODUCTION.

It is the intention of the present Tract to take into consideration the plan now proposed, in no other manner than as it is actually capable of procuring us the blessing of peace, in the modes expressed by the title; for the necessity of circumscribing it within the narrowest limits, permits no farther elucidation of its contents.—It is, therefore, proper to premise, that the Author is not ignorant of different topics he may pass over, having in his publications attempted to bring the subject of politics to the perfection of a practical art.

The proposal of a plan of the kind requires no apology at the present awful period; and the perusal may challenge patience and attention, because there is no practical proposal of the kind, in any shape, before the public, or perhaps before the cabinet itself, unless his

own. Of the various publications upon the subject of peace, and the topics connected with it, none essay, methodically, to suggest the practical means of constituting peace in a secure and permanent manner, much less to procure an advantageous peace, that will reflect honour upon our country, and elevate us above the idea of perpetual war, and our present degraded state of civilization. Mr. Roscoe himself hardly enters into any considerations of the kind; and those who have answered his late pamphlets, recommended to us a new BRITISH SYSTEM of internal commerce, or perpetual war, they being absolutely unacquainted with the means of producing a peace tolerably satisfactory to themselves. Their respectability, stations, and assertions, lead, however, to the presumption of ministers thinking in a similar manner; and, therefore, if they are to be accredited, excite the strongest hopes, that the following proposals will induce the latter to abandon the measures they have embraced, because they were uninformed of others, equally expedient and effectual, as the crisis requires.

The Plan is distributed into different chapters, under which it is arranged in summary heads; for this has been thought necessary, not only to shorten the treatise, but to avoid methodical complexity, on a subject of such infinite length: but if each chapter give satisfaction, the different views they embrace are, beyond question, sufficiently comprehensive to furnish a perfect plan; and the detail of explanation is superseded by the self-evident truth, expedience, and practicability, of their important contents.

A PLAIN

PRACTICAL PLAN,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

That there are no adequate motives for protracting the present war; on the contrary, the most cogent reasons for terminating it, without delay, in the manner proposed by the plan.

For, in the *first* place, no danger whatever need be apprehended from the possibility of the maritime superiority of France, and her federate powers at any future period; such danger, as it may occur, can, to a certainty, be prevented, as will be shown in the different chapters, but particularly in the *sixth*.

Secondly. It is not in our power to reduce, or prevent, the aggrandizement of the French Empire, the new modification of

states and nations, and the completion of their improvements, for the purpose of forming a different state of civilization throughout the world, which the times concur in constituting; which they have placed in the energies of the French people to carry into effect, and render them, in the hands of Providence, the instrument of effecting.

All efforts to the contrary, the most extraordinary known in history, have proved a vain attempt; have even terminated in giving France the means for the accomplishment of those purposes,—surrounding her, by land, with kingdoms of external strength,—by sea, with shores of maritime extent, that ought to determine all nations not to contend with her in arms, but in higher views, and the grandest schemes of policy and improvement. The vast accessions made to her territories, as well as the great changes that occasioned them, do not vindicate the continuance of war from motives of policy. On the contrary, if they were restored to their former state, they would be sure to renew those wars to which they were at all times invariably subject. Farther, the means will hereafter be pointed out, by which, in consequence of those changes, the reduced number of the continental powers, and their establishment on contrary political foundations, the past frequency of our wars may be wholly avoided, in a manner most favourable to our immediate interests; and by which all losses, whatever, we may have sustained, or may still apprehend, can be recompensed beyond our wishes themselves, or for ever prevented, in modes, of the practicability of which we have hitherto had no

conception. We ought, therefore, no longer to prosecute the war from motives of this nature : no longer to perpetuate it, when we thus extend the power of France, and confirm the throne of Napoleon himself; no longer to ascribe its protraction to his alleged vices and ambition, when the declaration was coeval with the conquest of the Netherlands, that the war was to be continued till these were wrested from the possession of the republic, then in its infancy. Still less ought we to persevere in expectation of revolutions or accidents, which must, if favourable, be in the end attended with the same unfortunate consequences,—when a secure peace can be obtained, infinitely more desirable for our interests, as will be shown hereafter.

Thirdly. The present protraction of war not only subjects us to immense privations, calamities, and grievances, but is critical in respect of all our most vital and essential interests, both now and for ever. The establishment of the inland improvements, and commerce of the continent, and the ancient world, as practicable with the aid of canals, rivers, and short passages by sea, and intended to act in opposition to our present maritime commerce, is not merely projected, but actually instituted, and cannot possibly be evaded ; since it is ensure for a continuance by the orders of our own council, passed into acts of parliament for the purpose, as well as by the different interests that will thus be gratified upon the continent, whether of the French government, or of those who provide substitutes, or engage in cultivating the articles themselves, that are prohibited. Thus, by a decree of ours, the

cotton, sugar, and coffee of America, and the articles of British industry, with which we have long supplied those extensive countries, must be produced by themselves; while we have excluded these from receiving them by sea, for a term, equal to that of the life of the French emperor, of thirty or fifty years, or of actual perpetuity, they are under the necessity of procuring them; and can, in a far shorter time than this, procure them of their own growth and labour. The same orders naturally extend their effects to the United States, and the French and Spanish colonies in America; and while we are debarred from them, the interests of our own colonies, in this quarter, will be fatally affected; and, in the end, themselves separated from the parent country, in like manner as the East Indies will readily associate themselves, or be subjugated without difficulty, in the early stage of the improvement of the ancient world. These events will not delay, with the continuance of the war, to prove highly destructive to the different productions of our extensive Empire, to our navigation and commerce at large, to our domestic industry, and those foreign sources of wealth and capital that have been so singularly beneficial to our country. Civilization will once more wing its flight to a different quarter of the globe, to that which she has, at least once, deserted. Whereas it should be our policy to hold a proportionable share in the renovation of the inland commerce and improvement of the ancient world, as may be effected by the proper means that will, hereafter, be suggested, with the view of supporting the present prosperity of the British empire, and the rising fortunes of America.

Fourthly. A system of protracted or perpetual warfare, as above-mentioned, and now exultingly proclaimed on all hands, is the actual resolve, or determination, of the destruction of our own independency, of the united kingdoms themselves, and the whole empire. For a regular undertaking, and comprehensive enterprise, will not fail of being adopted on the part of France and her allies, for the purpose of counteracting such an intention, rather than they will submit to it for ever. It will be accounted rational and unavoidable, by all the parties, and not require many years, comparatively speaking, to be completed. In this case, the physical strength of the different people, from Archangel, along the various shores of the ocean, to the farthest extremity of the Turkish seas, will be united in concert, and duly organized against us, and be found as sufficient, in the end, to assume the dominion of the seas, the sole alternative left them, as their land forces are adequate to overpower our military force opposed against them. It is therefore important that we should consider what the strength actually will be of such a combination, under the direction of the French monarchy,—the immense marine that may be built through such a tract,—the short period wherein a man of war of the largest size may be constructed,—the great number of real seamen here bred, and to be procured,—the facility with which these convert landmen into sailors,—the opportunity there will be in the end, of exercising them, with security, in the Baltic, the Grecian, and Black seas,—the celerity wherewith France has at all times renewed her navy,—the naval stores that can here be produced,

or obtained from the North,—the practicability of converting armies into fleets,—the result of the ultimate accumulation of such maritime force,—the natural consequence of defeat generating address and courage,—the possibility of acquiring sufficient skill, mechanism, and discipline,—the necessity of perseverance, and the irresistible energies of despair, in nations oppressed, and compelled to find immediate relief, from the certainty of otherwise suffering for perpetuity. It is even greatly to be dreaded, that the United States of America will join so formidable a combination. At least, their commerce has sustained hardships and injuries, increased from impolicy on our part, which gives sufficient foundation for those fears; and, perceiving us the absolute masters of the world, by our naval superiority and its abuse, a character which France can no more than vain gloriously affect to be, may consider submission to our present System of maritime dictatorship, to be the resignation of their own rights, and of the independency of mankind, for ever. Suffering much, whatever part they take, they may deem it wisdom to protect the interests of civilization and improvement, on that extensive scale which the times strongly recommend, and which cannot fail of success by their support. They may, however, pursue a different System, attending to their interests on a contracted scale, or to the extension of their territories in America; but they cannot, by either means, prevent the improvement of the ancient world.

Fifthly. Various events, even the incapacity of our ministers, may

in course of time, or rather are certain to intervene, and enforce the desertion of a system of perpetual warfare, when its preceding atrocities have, however, prevented the possibility of reconciliation, and our sincerity cannot be accredited in making peace; when we must at least be unable to recover the infinite advantages which our institution of the present plan, and participation in introducing the true original scheme of Human Economy throughout the world, would have appropriated to our posterity throughout the most distant ages. It is, therefore, an object of the highest moment to make an immediate peace, when we have in our hands the power of imposing the terms at pleasure; and can never extricate ourselves from the war with greater advantage than we may at present.

Lastly. The new British System of internal commerce, or perpetual war, which is proposed to supersede our past system of commerce, manufactures, and peace, and apply to other resources in its stead, and has already produced the most alarming effects, will be found inefficient, cruelly restrictive, fallacious, speculative, impracticable, and so ruinous as to be obliged to be abandoned; and this must take place under the infinite disadvantages described in the preceding head. At the same time, it is a complex System, depending on those arts of national improvement, to which, in past times, government has had so marked an aversion; to which it will not, as is imagined, be reconciled for the purposes of a new System; to the exercise of which it will consequently be found incompetent. The pro-

posal, however, of recurring to those arts, in this extraordinary manner, warrants their application in the succeeding pages, to the construction of a durable and advantageous peace, wherein none of the inestimable advantages, which the United Kingdoms possess at present, are thrown away, but are extended or augmented in infinite respects, and secured, so as to demand of ministers their positive sanction. It is true, statesmen have never yet employed those principles in their due extent; but this is the actual reason of peace having hitherto proved so precarious and imperfect a blessing, and explains how peace may be made the means of advancing whatever is desirable to our country. The principles requisite to produce this effect, tend, however, spontaneously to complete Human Welfare, and perfect the civilization of mankind: and it will be found unavoidable to propose their operations, as they produce these latter effects, because they are requisite, in a degree, to make a peace of moderate duration, as well as the certain instrument of rendering it universal and perpetual. But if the reader, like a hardened contractor, who yet may in general be reconciled to them in the eventful situation of our affairs, dislike the idea of such a perfect peace, he may hastily skim over the few heads, in which they are applied to the purpose of rendering peace universal and perpetual; of which he will be advertised in due time.

CHAPTER II.

That, as may be supposed, even from the preceding view of an inveterate war existing without satisfactory foundations, there may possibly exist political powers or principles, and proper executive modes, by which peace can be produced, and maintained, in a manner congenial with the interests of mankind; and which, at the same time, can generate such blessings, or establish such a right state of things, as will be the most powerful support of peace: that the existence of such efficacious modes and principles will be evinced in the succeeding chapters: that the reason of their not being hitherto employed in an adequate extent, to generate such blessings, or right state of states, proceeds from two causes,—from a reluctance in governments to advance improvements, and from their being strangers to the arts of improvement and executive enterprize; the remedy of which is indirectly a proper understanding between the sovereign and the people; and that these three important facts may be considered as postulates, they being self-evident axioms, or sufficiently approaching thereto, to warrant their establishment.

Postulate I.—That governments have, in the most blamable manner, forborne from doing what is right and good, according to the means in their power; that the criterion of the genuine character of legislators and statesmen has been generally abandoned, as it ought to be fixed by the performance of all great and useful actions whatever, or the invariable exercise of beneficence to the public, the individual, and mankind at large; that they have not employed extraordinary measures, as the exigencies of affairs, and the interests of their country, required; that, hence nations have remained subject to all the horrors of war and ruin, the intercourse of nations has been a fatal scene of barbarous and inhuman aggression, and of as severe retaliation; and we ourselves, at the present period, are infinitely less acquainted with the principles of political, civil, &c. or human economy, than our forefathers were at the early commencement of the era which succeeded the dark ages consequent to the decline of the Roman Empire.

Postulate II.—That, in respect of the arts of improvement and executive enterprise, and those important resources they are capable of advancing in favour of peace, and its different interests, governments have not taken sufficiently elevated, comprehensive, and substantial views, but such as are partial and limitted; have not industriously investigated the efficient means, and principles, on which those resources depend; and have not, as is even common in the military art, exercised their ingenuity in forming them into

practical combinations, simple or complex, as plans capable of effecting the various services they might by them realise for the good of nations, and their subjects.

It is too well ascertained, that national proceedings, in the highest departments of state, have usually been conducted according to methods altogether the reverse of such arts of improvement, and enterprize, and the practical combinations these form. In the place of the latter, there have been substituted, in an astonishing degree, projects wholly illusory and speculative, mere attention to routine and precedent in the most extraordinary occurrences, the employment of literature and eloquence, and the reasoning of arguments and debates, in the place of the certainty of fact, and the efficacy of measures. Practical improvements, as honoured with this title, have been introduced in such a state, as not only to render themselves, but the purposes of melioration itself, contemptible; and pretended plans of improvement accounted adequate for the times, which are actually ruinous, or deteriorative, consequently deluding the national judgment, may rapidly precipitate the destruction of the Empire. Whereas, for my works prove the assertion, by adopting the principles of the present postulate, there would have long ago been discovered that Scheme and Practical Art of Human Economy, explained in the accompanying printed papers, which might have enabled them to achieve all measures, of whatever description, whether they relate

to peace or otherwise, requisite for the completion of human interests.

Postulate III.—That, in order to give nations and society the services which may be deduced from the preceding postulates, a good understanding, free from jealousies and interferences, and supported by the discharge of their mutual duties, should subsist between the sovereign and his people: the sovereign, on one hand, should consider it his duty to render all the good he can to his people, either in maintaining, or advancing, whatever is serviceable to them; the people, on the other, who know nothing farther can possibly be done to serve them, should support the sovereign in the discharge of his duties against all party or opposition, and concede to him those rights and privileges which are the legitimate claims of government.

The sovereign, as the supreme head of public power and wealth, should possess, and dispense, all the attributive means in any respect requisite for his private happiness, honour, and prosperity; requisite for the recompence of the claims of service and merit, and for wielding that force with which governments must always be invested, and which they must firmly maintain for the good of the people; contributing, in every various mode, and the farthest extent, to the effectual promotion of their interests, by the institution of such a scheme, and practical art of human economy, as is mentioned

in the preceding postulate. The people, aiding him for these purposes, must give him their freest confidence; must faithfully co-operate with him, in their subordinate stations, by all such exertions as are absolutely required from them; and should always be aware, that reform ceases to be necessary in any constitution of government, when its sovereign invariably exercises his functions in the manner now laid down, but attempted during the time of introducing a grand scheme of human economy and improvement, might absolutely frustrate its institution.

Postulate IV. — That the establishment of the present postulates is not only expedient in showing what obstacles there are to the advancement of great political objects, essentially connected, as is shown in the following pages, with the plan of peace now proposed, and what precautions should be employed in their advancement, but is the basis on which the grand fabric should be placed, the different interests of peace are calculated to form in a satisfactory manner; as that whereby the harmony, cordiality, and effectual co-operation of the parties will be secured.

CHAPTER III.

That there are proper political powers, or principles, hitherto unapplied in an adequate manner, wholly omitted, or greatly abused; by means of which, employed with suitable address, a secure, advantageous, and permanent peace, may be obtained, in all respects answerable to the highest expectations we can form. Peace may even be perpetuated, should government adopt them, and the present plan at large, in the extent proposed, with the view altogether of excluding war.

The above powers are reduced to twelve heads, which compose the present chapter; and are explained, at greater length, in the accompanying printed papers, or in my publications that offer farther details in proof of their efficacy. The energies of them, taken separately, will shew their force to be adequate for their respective purposes; but their organized combination forms a work of mechanism of incalculable capacity, sufficient, with its other parts, to carry the plan into effect, to render it absolutely perfect, and remove the dread of those evils, which our tormented imaginations apprehend will

ensue, after a short peace, in a future war. However, these desirable effects can in no degree be produced, without either employing a sufficient number of the different powers, that are enumerated in the chapter, or the whole, to a certain extent. If we fulfil neither of these conditions, peace, when it does come, will not be different from what it has been: and the truth must not be disguised, that our statesmen have observed as loosely, in practice, the subsequent principles, as any other nation; have too readily dispensed with them, in making and maintaining peace, however sacredly attached they professed to be to those they honoured with their notice.

The complete combination of the several political powers, and their several energies, realised in practice, would comprise, along with the rest of the plan, that new order, or state, of human interests, of society, and nations, which is the proper employment of peace; and, in return, this would support peace so effectually as even to prevent the recurrence of war,—at any rate to render it a rare and temporary occurrence. The public may, however, want the patriotism necessary to take it into consideration, with this view; but the throne, I trust, will always be filled with that ardour of beneficence, love of true glory, and regard for the Divine Scheme of Providence, which will render justice to the Plan, and give efficiency to its well-founded proposals. For, carried to its proper extent, the combination will be found to constitute an art, or practical system of human economy, of infinite value and importance, which, at the same time, is simple

and easy, and, beyond comparison, less operose and expensive than the support of one war, much more than the frequency of wars, it is intended to suppress.

Head I. As power is the basis of politics, and an effectual medium of procuring and maintaining peace, so whatever constitutes that power, particularly strength, population, and affluence, or various internal means, and others relative to foreign states and nations, should be duly provided for each state and nation. Hence it is essential policy, as far as opportunity, prudence, justice, and the sublime views of human economy, permit, for every nation to acquire the advantages which their interests require, and, in particular, to derive them from the advancement of their general and local, foreign and domestic, improvements; from the due extension of their territories,—from the different strength, and resources, of all other independent powers, being placed in a steady, permanent balance to each other, however, not requiring incessant adjustments,—from a dignified maintenance of their rights and privileges, wherein honour is an active energy, yet neither a vain, unprofitable name, nor a dangerous incentive to contention. The subject of political power is, therefore, anxiously attended to in the practical part of the Plan, and all measures are proposed requisite to advance it at this critical period, especially in respect of the promotion of improvements, the extension of territories, and the re-establishment of a due balance of power throughout the world. The number of independent states

is now greatly reduced in Europe; but, being few, they may be rendered infinitely more favourable to peace, if they can be rendered strong and invincible; an object which renders the present principle highly interesting. It is, however, a more important consideration to make a proper use of political power; by it to maintain peace, and accumulate national resources, instead of seeking for these in wars, which thus render themselves perpetual; and, by no means, to destroy itself by abuse, and, in vain surmises and procrastination, to deprive ourselves of the means and opportunity of making a desirable peace.

Head II. A most effective, political principle is the mutual subservience of states and nations to one another's interests; they becoming essential, by reciprocal services of every various description, to each other's prosperity and happiness, so as to render peace an indispensable want to parties, that would otherwise be at war. Their intercourse should, therefore, be rendered an adequate medium for this purpose; and all other means adopted that will produce the same effect; the mutual gratification of the interests of nations, that interfere with the proceedings of each other, being employed, directly or indirectly, as a pacific principle, in the most extensive manner, instead of resistance and opposition to them, being their invariable pursuit at all times. Hence, in carrying on commerce, they should be able to supply each other with the articles of their respective industry, in the greatest abundance, and on

fair terms, free from financial incumbrances. The genial productions of each should be principally encouraged,—that are, indeed, the truest sources of wealth; and their unrestrained use rendered such an habitual enjoyment to their consumers, as will render them always averse to war, and favourable to peace. Views which, more than any other, contribute to the enlargement and uninterruption of commerce; afford that large capital, by foreign trade, which the home demand cannot furnish; and coincide with the intentions of Providence, that has constituted the interests of nations, and particularly those of Great Britain and France, reciprocally dependent on each other, and the most valuable cement of peace. Their interests, independently of such a direct mode of intercourse, should be gratified on the most extensive scale, as far as is compatible with their security. On this account, the extension of their territories may freely be admitted at this critical period; particularly as the improvement of the world at large, affords the happy opportunity of consolidating the peace and happiness of all countries, and opens an interminable prospect, for the purpose, to France and Great Britain. The various sources of genuine connection may be extended or confirmed by real friendly alliances, resting alike on the advantage of both parties; which should here never be restricted to the one, at the expense of the other. The interests, however, of other nations, unincluded in the treaty, should not be violated; which would be highly unfavourable to peace with the world at large. Indeed, alliances become unnecessary with the perfection of peace, this adding

strength to the tie of the natural reciprocity of human interests, in proportion as the true principles of politics are universally followed; and, from motives of wisdom, justice, philanthropy, beneficence, liberality, and religion, inherent in the hearts of mankind, dispose nations to the spontaneous impulses of amity and good-will. Thus peace may be established, not only on its true bias, but on a stronger bias, as wars may have been more inveterate and destructive between them; and Great Britain become attached to France, not less cordially than she is now to Ireland, Wales, and Scotland.

Head III. The improvement of the world at large is become necessary, in order to make such provision, independent of war and rapacity, as will gratify the desire of acquiring wealth, which actuates all nations, and the individuals who compose them; but in particular France and Great Britain. For these two nations have that equal right to its acquisition, which can be restricted solely to one of them with the certainty of perpetuating wars between them. Hence the due progress of the art of practical improvement, fully explained by me elsewhere, in propagating wealth, population, industry, and civilization, throughout the different quarters of the world, is become one of the most important of the political powers; and it may be encouraged with as much freedom as will be sought for; since, of all others, domestic improvements are the most valuable, when the obstacles are removed that

obstruct their progress; and, being duly attended to by each nation, will thus, most effectually, expedite the improvement of the whole world. It is this art that multiplies the productions of industry, causes their greater consumption, increases population, and enlarges commerce, wherever it is introduced; and it thus naturally connects nations in peace and amity, as has been explained under the preceding head. It is, at the same time, the instrument destined to effect the grand end of human creation: for the earth was formed to admit the full employment of the industry and ingenuity of an infinite population, and, from the want of it, is suffering, in different parts, extensive and irrecoverable deteriorations. Inasmuch as the French have taken the first steps, and, from political occurrences, must proceed, they have, in fact, instituted the improvement and restoration of the commerce of the ancient world, as well as the domestic melioration of the continent; and, as has already been suggested, it is our policy to take and share with them in this praiseworthy design. The cultivation of small portions of the earth, for the purpose of acquiring immense wealth, as is known in respect of the cultivation of sugar by slaves in America, ceases, in time, to be a source of wealth to the capitalist.—It is, solely, the general cultivation of the world, in all respects, that can augment alike the productions of industry, their consumption, and the profits of exchange, which commerce draws from them. The equable improvement of the globe, in all its several local capacities, should be introduced, lest the Divine intentions should be frustrated. Civi-

lization should, in early youth, by its proper arts, inure the inhabitants of the warmer climates to cultivate their neglected regions, and would, in this manner, be found to break the chains of slavery itself. The colder countries should animate industry by recompensing it with the valuable riches nature has here reposited for the efforts of human labour, and, in whatever quarter of the world these are dispersed, not requiring the toil of production, but merely collection, they should be anxiously procured for the pleasure and advantage of mankind. In fine, the practical art of improvement is in constant, as well as universal, requisition. It is not more necessary, with every renewal of our species, to advance the inability of infancy to the perfection of manhood, than it is essential, by habitual and versatile application, to give a diversity of talents to the statesman, and enable him to accommodate his measures to those unforeseen contingencies of events, that never cease to occur in the affairs of great nations.

Head IV.—There are certain qualifications of the mental powers, the union of which is requisite to constitute political talents, favourable to the formation, advancement, and support of peace, and its different concomitant interests. Among the characteristic features of the great Statesman are to be recited, at least, executive, or administrative parts, comprehensive conception, extensive information in what is useful to mankind, independency of thought, common sense, solid judgment, sound inference, meliorative talents, practical abilities, the faculty of forming plans and original combinations,

fertility of expedients, ingenuity of device, the happy application of means, pliability of mind, compliance with enlightened views of proceedings before altogether misunderstood, sagacity, accurate thought and penetration, wisdom, dispassionate consideration, address in business, true magnanimity, elevation of genius, and the art of employing the faculties of others to the greatest advantage in every department of human welfare. Thus there exists, or may be produced, what, with great propriety, is called, political ability or talents; which is of the highest consequence, and a most important desideratum in all countries, wherein it is unknown, though it may readily be formed, and in a considerable degree, by rules laid down in the second postulate of the preceding chapter. It is certainly of material consequence to acknowledge the incompetence of political ability in the ministers of this country, for a considerable time past, in respect of the important occurrences wherein they were officially engaged: and this is more necessary, at a critical period, in order that the present ministers may give free scope to the mental qualifications above specified. Hence, wars they had prosecuted were found unnecessary; their result was not previously inferred, owing to narrowness of conception, and confined views; and treaties of peace that ensued, formed wholly unequal to their purposes. The last negotiation of peace was necessarily more important than any that preceded: yet the failure of it may be ascribed to a protraction which the situation of affairs deprecated in an urgent degree; to a rigorous adhesion to misconceived terms of *uti possidetis*, when

mutual concessions were indispensable in points of the greatest difficulty or importance; and to an indisposition to conform with terms essential to the happiness and prosperity of the French, which we enjoyed, which they had as great a right to claim, and for which there could readily have been found indemnities, that might have justified the acceptance and policy of them on our part. The next negotiation may fail, if we observe the usual routine of politics, from reluctance to employ new principles; from an incongruous mixture of the politics of the last century with those that are solely applicable to the present; from a sordid preference of subordinate matters to the success of the main object or design; even from objections altogether inapplicable,—vain surmises, and mistaken interests.

Head V.—Of political powers, the most efficacious are those that may be styled moral, among which integrity and justice are singularly eminent. For they furnish us, according to the original destiny of things, with rules of the surest policy: and, had Mr. Pitt been wholly guided, in his ministerial career, by the law of nations, he would have left behind him the character of the wisest of statesmen. Where the moral political powers are defective, or reversed, peace and amity must be estranged, weakened in their dispensations, and accompanied with great collateral infringements, or privations. Political justice, including integrity, is necessary to the peace, friendship, harmony, and intercourse, of mankind; attributive justice that recompences merit and service, is the proper means of instituting

national perfection, and, practiced as it ought to be, would long ere this have reduced politics to a practical art or science: and legislative justice, as it induces governments to carry into effect whatever measures are useful to the public and individual, tends immediately to consummate human happiness and prosperity, and render war itself a rare phenomenon. The wisest regulation statesmen can pursue, in forming the different plans, or practical combinations, public affairs require at their hands, is, in the first place, to render them conformable to genuine morality, or justice and integrity; and afterwards to employ, if requisite, the resources of ingenuity, for reconciling them with public and private interests. Thus it becomes an object of the highest moment to rescue political morality from its present degradation; and to restore it to the high rank it possesses in all national concerns. Mr. Baring announces the law of nations to have become altogether obsolete, unless as it is employed to vindicate the erroneous practices of statesmen: and the failure of the late treaty, attempted to be negotiated with the United States, was in part owing to exceptions positively taken against its authority, which might have been obviated by the suggestions of a moderate degree of ingenuity.

Head VI.—Liberality of conduct, comprising beneficence in its full extent, is a political power of the highest efficacy, fundamentally adverse to war; and the natural bond of peace, when it is accompanied with that happy mixture of suspicion, which may justly be called prudence. Its services are requisite on innumerable unforeseen

occasions, and are repaid by the amplest returns. It is the reverse of politics, practiced as a species of craft and subtlety, that seeks to convert every possible occurrence into immediate profit; and, for a present advantage, sacrifices the highest interests of the state; and it is not incompatible with that generous confidence, which wholly discards unnecessary jealousies and intrigues. Its advantages, however, cannot be explained here in detail, but are enumerated in my work, entitled, "the Political Interests of Great Britain," where they are sufficiently manifest. It is, therefore, to be regretted, that it should not have been universally a favourite system; that in support of the contrary system, particularly in commercial concerns, nations have been too ready to sacrifice peace, and its most important advantages; and that they have been so subject to entertain unbounded prejudices against all who interfered with their interests. Cold feelings, and selfish views, have been characteristic of some of our statesmen, who yet eagerly devoted themselves to the support of wars and party interest, and were not, by generous concessions, disposed to reconcile foreign animosities; and, as Britons, are not to be justified in these respects, because they have followed the example of other countries.

Head VII.—The duties we owe to mankind at large, and which are comprehended under the term of philanthropy, may certainly be employed as a political power of permanent and considerable avail, in disposing nations, with their different governments,

to conciliate their differences in peace, and terminate any wars wherein they may be engaged. Philanthropy is one of the strongest of our passions, being founded on an attachment implanted in our hearts to foreigners, and foreign objects, possessing real or supposed extraordinary worth and excellence. It has been there obliterated only by various artifices and suggestions, sedulously incited in favour of wars, or by rapacious considerations of private interest, adverse to the common welfare of nations, which have propagated national hatreds and animosities without real foundations. The removal of these, by the restoration of the genuine attractions of this passion, would establish good-will and friendship between Great Britain and France, produce a cordial and permanent union of the two nations, and, through the plan proposed, supply facilities and concessions favourable to peace, and correct all misunderstandings of each other's characters, that dispose them so readily to war. Its natural tendencey is to draw nations together by their affections and gratitude, thus to form them into the general commonwealth of the world: for the policy of erecting separate communities was not intended thereby separately to usurp, but more effectually to maintain, the individual interests of our whole species, in the primitive communion of the universe. Philanthropy is, therefore, the proper antidote of that exclusive attachment of nations, and their subjects, to their own respective interests, which is the principal cause and support of war, and always, in the end, proves highly injurious to them by its ruinous effects, and the prevention of the beneficial services of mutual intercourse.

Head VIII.—The conversion of the present imperfect state of civilization, into that of its practical perfection, must act as a political power, highly favourable to the extermination of war, so highly inconsistent with the views of the latter, as well as to the contrary interests of peace. For we certainly are in the situation of all nations, hitherto known, that have passed the meridian of their aggrandizement, and followed the deteriorative progress, natural to an imperfect state of civilization; for even the favourers of the new System of internal, or rather exclusive, commerce, admit our present commerce must unavoidably decline, oppressed with financial burdens, and the unbounded expenditure of the State: but it is the positive law of nature, in respect of society, and government, that national deterioration will, in such a situation, predominate, rapidly increase, and spread ruin and misery in destructive wars, until nations, as history faithfully informs us in our own case, at length know not how to make peace in a competent manner, and are ready to break it upon the most insufficient grounds. A perfect state of civilization, must consist in the institution of a right state of things, to which our actions are conformable in all respects. We however proceed on views, altogether the reverse to the establishment of such a state of civilization. For our views are passionately engrossed in the search of wealth, and the prosecution of war. We are too high and arrogant to qualify ourselves with plain talents, suitable to accomplish a right state of things, but hence we are become weak in the executive arts of government, and incompetent to provide the practical remedies, which the crisis

requires. We place too much confidence in eloquence and literature, constituting them the supreme judge or arbiter, both of the merits of practical improvement, and of the proceedings of our enemies, and submit to their determinations too often, because they are as severe, acrimonious, and abusive, as they are erroneous. Thus we become indisposed in our minds, and too speculative in our talents, either to form ourselves, or to adopt from others, those practical combinations or plans of improvement, that are indispensable for the perfecting civilization; we therefore fix our dependance upon wealth and war, and become savage in our hatred to the various meliorative processes. The introduction, by reverse methods, of a perfect state of civilization, would draw the attention of nations, to very different objects from those of mistaken politics, and interminable wars. It would exhibit, in all their complicated horrors, the effects of the passions, as their fatal impulses, or deceptions, are the principal causes of war, and operate not more forcibly upon the vulgar, than legislatures themselves. It would fully explain the usual sources of the carnage of mankind, which the institution of the practical Scheme of Human Economy would consign to perpetual ignominy, in that statement of them which is made in the printed paper, entitled "The true, original Scheme of Human Economy." p. 98.

I flatter myself, that all readers, who think it time to arrest the farther progress of war and national ruin, will have duly attended to the different political powers or principles, that have already been treated;

but as the remainder of these I shall propose in the present chapter, refer to the perfection of peace, to the suppression of war in general, to still higher interests, and to the establishment of the true dignity and honour of our country, and may not be so acceptable, the reader, indisposed to attend to them, can now pass to the succeeding chapter without breaking the unity of the plan.

Head IX.—The political power or principle, which may be considered to be fundamental to all others, is that of instituting the true, original Scheme of Human Economy, as this is calculated to render man competent to his destiny, and procure the various advantages, and gratifications, he is permitted to enjoy in this life. For it forms a practical System, endowed with the most comprehensive powers, which is capable of eradicating all avoidable evil, and procuring whatever good can be realised. It thus embraces the perfection of peace, as well as that of all other human interests, consisting of operative means, regularly organized, and combined in mutual aid and concurrence with one another, in order to answer the purposes of the whole. But not to view the Scheme in its ultimate effects, its means in general are so connected with politics, as to be highly important to their advancement in all respects, and its services may be considered fundamental, in regard to peace, and the whole of its interests.

The scheme consists of different practical plans, measures, and principles, that embrace every subject, or constitute every

interest, public or private, of human welfare: and they not only are comprised under the following 12 genera or heads; but bringing each of them to perfection, constitute, in their organized aggregate, the consummated fabric or scheme of human welfare. They are government, or the civil arrangement, organization, and direction of society and its several interests; public agency, of which police forms a part: politics; agriculture; general industry, comprehending manufactures, national improvements, arts and sciences; commerce; mental instruction; religion; medicine; practical jurisprudence; and the appropriate arts of individual improvement,—prosperity, and happiness. A considerable number of those practical plans, measures, and principles, are in ordinary use; and I have shewn, in my publications, how they may be brought to perfection, as they require amendment. I have provided the others, that are necessary to form and consummate the scheme, with the exception, however, of such as are easy to bring forward at pleasure: and government has, for its own purposes, embraced a certain number of them, among which are the income, or property tax, and the mode now in use of raising the supplies, without the actual imposition of taxes. These plans, measures, and principles, at the same time, constitute, or are accompanied with a practical art of improvement and executive administration, as is explained in the second postulate, by which they themselves may be explored, devised, and readily carried into effect.

The whole of the scheme is illustrated in the accompanying printed papers. From them it will appear, on one hand, that the scheme may be considered to be a production, embracing all the various interests of mankind, and fully capable of effecting these by appropriate executive measures, as a whole, combined by human device, on the most comprehensive views, and surest grounds of evidence; on the other, that in grandeur, diversity, number, and compass of energies, it is so perfect, and transcendant above all human power, and bears such certain indications of a still higher origin, that it must actually be a Divine production, which the human species were ordained to bring to light, and establish in practice, by exploring its component parts, and organizing them, so as to form a grand operative scheme of human economy. But merely, as it is shewn by the printed papers, to be founded in truth and nature; and, therefore, to be valid in all respects, it is, therefore, a Divine production. For it is the greatest of human errors, not to consider the incontrovertible suggestions of nature, with those of rectitude at at large, to be Divine; and, therefore, to deny them the force and efficacy they have a right of claiming, since nature and rectitude are no other than the work of the Almighty. But we shall soon see that religion, and the scheme of human economy, are the same; in consequence the latter is indisputably of Divine origin.

But in whichever of these lights the scheme is viewed, it is equally applicable to the interests of different states and nations;

because it affords one common rule for the administration of all their respective interests. It will, therefore, alike uniformly lead them to perfect and support peace with all its concomitant interests. At the same time it can every where, throughout the world, be readily carried into effect, by various powerful energies, independently of its own infinite attractions, the nature and efficacy of which will be next explained in succession. Thus an agent is found on behalf of the world, which is competent to the removal of war, to the perfection and establishment of universal peace.

Head X. Religion is a political power, the influence of which is highly favourable to peacein general; but operates in different modes of supporting it. It prescribes to the common sense of mankind, throughout the world, the duty of contributing to peace on earth, and good-will towards man. It is supported by all governments in the interior administration of their affairs; and here universally admitted as an unobjectionable practice. Therefore, its assistance in regulating and maintaining the intercourse of nations, ought not to appear particular, but is highly important on account of their relative interests. Its direct sanction is applicable to most of the political principles that have been proposed, as is obvious on referring to them : its indirect sanction, as strongly to others; but, particularly to that of the true scheme of human economy, which is the most important and universal in its effects, and must be inferred to be, on this account, more favourable to the perfection of peace, than to that of any other

department of human welfare or economy. Wherever the services of religion extend, they must be extraordinary, and impose a highly urgent obligation upon the parties; and they will be infinitely more advantageous, because they extend to all religions and sects, worthy to be deemed religious; these denominations either appertaining to true revelation, or to other religions, of which natural religion is the efficient basis.

In fine, it is certain, from investigation, and the investigation is accurately made in the printed papers, especially that entitled "The true original Scheme of human Economy," that natural and revealed religion are, each in their respective practices, the practice of the true scheme of human economy; support all its views, particularly those of peace, of perfect civilization, and national perfection; and actually lead us to the discovery of the true scheme, in order to effect these momentous purposes. The analysis of natural religion in the printed papers shows, that there is a capacity inherent in things of assuming a predestined state of rectitude in its highest sublunary excellence, as far as this relates to the interests of mankind; also that there is a practical art appropriated to produce a right state of things, as they relate to these interests; that man, himself, is predestined in a state of probation, to provide and employ this art, and is accountable for the due exercise of it in such respects; that the whole of the task, thus imposed upon him, is the actual practice of the true scheme of human economy, and that the execution of it is not only consonant

with the innate sense of rectitude, but excites in his bosom, towards the cause or author of it, such humiliation, gratitude, and desire to make a return corresponding with what the scheme points out, as constitutes natural religion.

On the other hand the analysis of revealed religion, by those papers, shews, in like manner, but with still stronger evidence, the practice of revealed religion, and that of the true original scheme of human economy, are the same, when the first is furnished, according to the intentions of the Almighty, with different means contained in the scheme, and when, in return, the scheme is associated with the Divine incitements, which the Scriptures liberally supply; that, by their powerful aids and assistance, they mutually perfect each other; that they are the same system of human policy or welfare, and, likewise, the same with that of natural religion, which is to be considered as the basis of all religious institutions, not founded on revelation, worthy of regard, and serviceable to mankind.

Thus religions, as genuine, that is, both the revealed and different religions in which natural religion is concentred, contain, as their main practical essence, the means of accomplishing a right state of things conformable with the true original scheme of human economy, but accompanied by the most sacred of injunctions to carry them into effect. By these injunctions, the means of accomplishing a right state of things are supported with surprising force, and thus evince the importance of

religion in the infinite services it is capable of rendering to mankind. For thus we can forward the progress, in all respects, of the scheme of human economy, by the performance of whatever relates to it being, in fact, a sacred duty of religion; by all men and nations whatever, being naturally actuated by religion of their own accord, otherwise being readily capable of receiving its influence, so as to answer its important purposes; and by all religious institutions being open, or disposed to receive, through proper address, means conducive to support the views of a true and genuine system of human economy.

It is, therefore, the peculiar duty of governments to support religion, as founded indifferently on revealed, or on natural religion, whatever their establishments or sects may be. Religion is thus, according to its several diversities, an universal political power of the highest consequence to the peace and prosperity of mankind; being ordained by the Almighty, in its numerous varieties, to propagate, and firmly maintain, his grand Scheme of Human Economy throughout the world, and incite its followers to live in that love and harmony which are the common characteristic of all religions. Every government should exercise such supremacy, over the different sects of religion under its subjection, as may be requisite to make them conform to these important views, especially where they are considerable: for this is likewise essential to the political strength of the country. Here, as may be instanced in respect of the Roman Ca-

tholics in Ireland, the supremacy should be exercised, through respectable persons of their own persuasions, acceptable to them, but chosen by the sovereign, and supported at the general expense. This would not be repugnant to the interests of the religious establishments of any country, on the contrary, favourable to them; and, while it maintained the common union, would excite an irresistible fervour in all the parties, to realize the purposes of the grand Scheme of Human Economy in every habitable situation, and religiously to maintain its inseparable adjuncts of the peace and mutual attachment of nations.

Head XI.—As the discovery of the true original Scheme of Human Economy denotes an epoch, or grand event, which both natural and revealed religion consider to be not only an object of the highest consequence, but their own destiny and completion: as these two religions consider the discovery to be the singular means of perpetuating peace, and establishing the perfection of mankind on earth; and as they farther prove themselves to be no other than the proper practical Scheme of Human policy or welfare: so the combination of the true Scheme of Human Economy, and religion, ordained by the Almighty himself, they being linked together in the manner now announced, in order to employ religion for its destined purpose, and establish a right state of things on earth, may, and ought by all means to be formed into that final dispensation, which is evidently enjoined, by the two religions, to bear such name, whether the

Economical Dispensation of mankind, or the British Dispensation, as may be considered most eligible; and to be employed in the most effectual way to answer its predestined purposes, among which is that of the maintenance of perpetual peace. For the proofs of these assertions may be seen in the printed paper, entitled "The true, original Scheme of Human Economy." The Dispensation will there be found to be the union of the true, original Scheme of Human Economy, of an appropriate practical art adapted to it, of the perfection of natural religion, and, in particular, of the perfection of revealed religion, as this embraces the inappreciable services of the Mosaic and Christian Dispensations. Its different constituent parts, and accompaniments, with their whole organized aggregate, will effectually support each other, and be able, by their concurrence, to produce a perfect state of civilization, the consummation of universal peace, prosperity, and happiness, in fine, the right state of things on earth; and its characteristic distinction, from the Mosaic and Christian Dispensations, is shown, in investigation, by convincing proofs, to be its peculiar properties of rectifying and perfecting the interests of empires with those of individuals. Should it, however, be distinguished by the name of the British Dispensation, the name alone might be of great advantage to our general commerce throughout the world; and itself be hailed as the imperial sun of Great Britain, illuminating mankind to free them from distress and ruin, and direct them to the certain paths of happiness and prosperity.

Head XII.—The last political power, or principle, that will be

proposed, is the most efficacious of all others; and, by the additional force it will give to the several energies of these, is certain to render them effectual for their respective purposes. It is the actual establishment of the government of the Almighty God over his different nations on earth, declared in the most formal and appropriate mode, to be the universal law of mankind in all future ages. For, as the means are now discovered with the most satisfactory evidence, by which the predestined economy of mankind, embracing all their different interests, can be realized in absolute sublunary perfection, in order to complete human prosperity and happiness; as those means constitute the main part of all religions, and are now brought to light in the actual fulfilment of the third dispensation, called above the British Dispensation, in order to constitute the final completion of religion; and as for nations to obey the will of God, manifested to us in this extraordinary manner, is to establish his Divine Government on earth: so the perfection of the political interests of mankind is comprehended under the perfection of human economy, the practicability of forming a complete plan of peace is evinced, and even by the present plan now proposed, which plan, when it receives due consummation at the hands of the legislature, is to be obeyed as a theocratical code of the Almighty.

The details of argument cannot here be expected to be given, which may be urged in support of a proposal of the present magnitude; nor is it necessary to offer farther explanation of it than what will

give a general view of the subject by the following remarks. In the actual institution of theocracy on earth, the interests of nations would no longer be conducted in the manner they have been by Statesmen, but according to principles, which, though temporal, are actually Divine, and not mistaken, weak, corrupt, and criminal, as they now often are in the highest degree. The different sovereigns and their people, who, covered with the recent blood of each other, and entertaining mutually the warmest animosity and contempt for one another, can be expected, with an ill-grace, to join in the bonds of real amity, would, however, cleave together in these, as they each bound themselves to the government of the Almighty over the World, and devoted themselves to obey his laws. The different nations, finding the completion of human prosperity and happiness placed in their hands, would ardently join in advancing every thing essential to its interest, and in removing the contrary, with an efficacy that could not be resisted; and support so effectually, at all periods, theocracy on earth, as to render it firm and durable for ever. Mankind would thus be elevated above the little, the mean, the culpable, the dishonourable, practices of an imperfect, barbarous, state of civilization: the species would be raised from a predatory, and sanguinary state, to their highest dignity; and their views and proceedings would be conducted on those high, advantageous grounds of virtue, power, energy, wisdom, talent, and knowledge, which the combination of the Mosaic, the Christian, and British Dispensa-

tions, with the true original scheme, and the practical art of human economy, would furnish according to the most perfect foundations.

Notwithstanding, the Divine government of nations, now proposed, is actually no new institution: they are, at present, accountable for their conduct, in all respects, to the Supreme Being. In their sublunary condition, they are destined to explore principles predestined for their direction, and to regulate their actions by laws, their compliance with which does in fact constitute the Divine government of human creation, or the political power now proposed of real theocracy. The practice of revealed religion, as complete, is the actual government of the Almighty: and natural religion, when complete, may be considered to be the same, since nothing exists on earth, material or vital, except our own species, which acts otherwise than involuntarily by the laws of the Almighty.

There are, however, appropriate means of singular efficacy, that ought to be employed in supporting the institution of theocracy, some of which should here be adverted to. The different religious orders may be expected to employ their warmest endeavours in its cause; not at least to abate in their present zeal, because it is at length ascertained, that man was formed religious by nature, in order to render effectual the Divine purposes of human policy and economy. In the same sacred view, the different legislative branches of all governments, should employ themselves upon the construction of

the Grand Scheme of Human Economy, and the present Plan of Peace; so as actually to perfect them in a moderate period of time, and supply all the auxiliaries requisite for their due fabrication and support. Parliaments themselves will be disgraced in disdaining to patronize the theocratical code of mankind, and ought not to consider themselves as higher dignified in their present characters, than what is the result of an infinitely inferior state of civilization to that now attempted to be introduced. But the complete cultivation of human welfare, in all its various objects and relations, as it constitutes the true Original Scheme of Human Economy, ought to be the peculiar study of the higher orders in general; for, should so rational a pursuit appear at first ridiculous, or unfashionable, yet it will be certain, when faithfully followed, to render the British Dispensation itself a plain, familiar process, and to consummate all its elevated, interesting purposes, while its consequent institution will immortalize them, as the benefactors of their country and mankind. Even the lowest classes should be duly informed, that what is most wanted in the cultivation of human welfare, or the introduction of its true Original Scheme, is its earnest improvement, and support in practice, by means of common sense, proceeding upon the plain laws of self-evidence; and that their active progress, conducted accordingly, will exceed even that of learning and science.

A singular institute in favour of the Divine government, in a certain degree to act authoritatively for the support of the introduction,

and maintenance in practice, of the true Scheme of Human Economy, would be that of a general council, presiding over the interests of different nations, or mankind at large. But not being invested with real executive power, like that famous tribunal, proposed actually to arbitrate the hostile differences of nations, and exercising, with moderation and dignity, its confidential powers of information and remonstrance, as these were necessary, in respect to the advancement of human welfare, on an adequate scale, it might be rendered permanent and efficient, by a suitable plan to answer all its important purposes, with universal satisfaction. It might be called the Economical council of the world, or the council of the British Dispensation; and the establishing of it thus, would extend the dominion of theocracy over the world, thus perfect the intentions of God, and the interests of the whole of mankind. At least, one general council should be constituted for this purpose, and consist of deputations from different countries, of members of virtuous and independent minds, well acquainted with the grand Scheme of Human and Universal Economy. It would be their office to promote the welfare of all nations, and the prosperity of the world, by sanctioning, and recommending to these, the actual knowledge of the true, original Scheme of Human Economy; to enlighten mankind through its means; and, by giving religion, and its several requisites, their inherent efficacy, to institute and maintain a right state of things on earth. But, in particular, it would be highly desirable to submit the conduct of statesmen and ministers to their animadversions in

the freest manner, as they might transgress the laws of Divine government, and the intentions of the true Scheme of Human Economy. The people, themselves, in all countries, might confide in it, to vindicate their respective interests, by its moderate representations, when necessary to their several sovereigns, or otherwise, as those interests might be mal-administered: and, when differences arose among nations themselves, their mediation would be powerfully efficacious in preserving peace.

The appointments of the different deputies, however liberal, would be an expense unworthy regard, and a small part, an invisible part, of the reward due from every country to real merit. Also, such a form of police may be provided for the perfection of this institute, as will enable it to answer all the salutary effects that it is possible to derive from it. Farther, I would propose its place of residence should be the British metropolis; since the freedom of our laws would allow it sufficient latitude of operation, and of asserting its sentiments. It remains to observe, that its formation may be supposed by some, not to be acceptable to the European powers in general. I, however, believe Great Britain alone would refuse its assent to the establishment of such a council, in refusing to embrace the proposal of instituting the British Dispensation itself. At least, there is no question but it will, in all respects, accord with the present views and genius of the French nation and their emperor. It will even, in France itself, force its way by the energies of religion; by those of natural religion, by

the inherent attractions of nature, by the beauty of the infinite operations and co-operations of the true original scheme of human economy, by the grand part, or character, which man is thus permitted to occupy in the scheme of the universe itself, and by his best feelings, sentiments, and virtues, wherewith natural religion is intimately connected: and this, as confirming all the truths of revealed religion, applicable to the British Dispensation, will be the most effectual means of restoring the real predominance of the latter in France. At any rate, the powers that have hitherto presided over the affairs of mankind, would receive, under the government of the Almighty, established on earth, all the advantage they require to guard against the machinations of the most infamous characters romantic nationality can possibly depict: and the intentions of God, in respect of human creation, would be rescued from insult, by being restored to their original consequence and dignity.

CHAPTER IV.

The general views of the political relations subsisting between Great Britain and France, likewise those subsisting between nations in general, as they may be rendered most advantageous to the several parties: the particular or appropriate means favourable to the accomplishment

of those views; and the concurrence of both the said general views, and appropriate means, as combined, or directed, by the medium of the political powers or principles explained in the preceding chapter, they may produce such a plan of peace, and its concomitants, as is now proposed to be formed and carried into effect.

Head I. Under this may be arranged all such considerations as refer to the general views of the political relations subsisting between Great Britain and France; but it is proposed to offer only those that are of the greatest importance for forming a desirable peace between them. For the object here proposed, is that of producing a peace corresponding to this intent, but altogether different from any ineffectual and short-lived peace, that hitherto has subsisted between them. It is proposed to be a confidential peace, or an alliance establishing real reconciliation, amity, and union between them, founded on the most satisfactory provision for their advantage, which can be devised, or which the world can furnish, consistently with the welfare of other nations. The basis of it is meant to be the mutual cession of all things in any respect favourable to, or connected with, the independence, strength, opulence, prosperity, happiness, dignity, and interests, whatever, of either, each securing these to the other by such grants as it has the power to make, and should, in real amity and wish to preserve peace, make to the other; each, likewise, discarding any jealousy, disgusts, enmities, antipathy, resentment,

animosity, unfavourable impressions, or discontent, that may have previously existed, or may rise in future, by all such concessions and conciliations of true regard, as can be advanced for the purpose. Above all, what is absolutely requisite to the safety of the one, and not to that of the other, is to be conceded by the latter to the former. This indispensable condition being previously secured, they are to consider what is the interest of the one is the interest of both, and should place no bounds to the admissible demands of either. Thus it is proposed actually to identify the interests of the two nations; and there being, in the wide world, and in the separate resources of their industry, advantages greater than they can make use of, their common prosperity established, will constitute a fund, on which each may draw with as great a freedom as its exigencies require. Thus every inducement is offered to procure an immediate peace, which, on many accounts, should no longer be delayed: interests, so highly important, are likewise raised between the two parties, that neither would relinquish, nor alloy them with unnecessary drawbacks; none of their interests are left ungratified, and all are supported with the greatest possible advantages: future causes of war are exterminated; and every pitiful envy and illiberality excluded on both sides.

It is unnecessary to point out here, the resources and modes there are of effecting such a peace. For they refer to other heads of the plan, and especially to the appropriate means hereafter to be mentioned, as well as to the political powers or principles already

treated of. But, it may be proper to introduce some detached observations, which will be found pertinent to the subject. It is necessary to notice, indeed it must be supposed of course, that the peace so formed, would not only be concluded, but carried into effect, or submitted to trial, with all the prudence and vigilance, which the improved art of politics can suggest; with all the wisdom by which a perfect plan of peace can operate; with all the firmness and constancy which the importance of such a plan would warrant. The parties would negotiate on equal terms: and Great Britain would stand on such high and favourable grounds, that she is more likely to dictate on the occasion, than to adopt wavering and timid counsels, abandon her interests, and be pusillanimous in her concessions. A peace of the kind, made with real ability, is calculated to maintain itself in its original perfection; and it will offer us, at the time, a sufficient pledge of national safety, because it cannot take place without weakening the strength of France in the actual separation of the independent powers, from their alliance with her against ourselves. The two empires, as is proposed to be effected by appropriate means, would possess such real power, that neither could destroy the other, or gain, by war, any advantages worthy of contention. Even before the revolution, France and Great Britain were, in all respects, natural allies: France required the aid of the latter, in fact, against the neighbouring powers; and their mutual commerce was highly valuable to both, on account of the great demand of each, and the difference of their native productions The

identification of interests proposed, would be the completion of the welfare of each of the countries: and we should be sure therein, of deriving very essential advantages from the federate states of France, and the independent powers she can influence. In fine, we should employ all the means in our power to mollify complaints, which France may have a right of making, in respect of the commencement and continuance of the present war. At any rate she should sufficiently understand we have relinquished the principle of opposing her freedom, in the choice of her own government, and are friendly to her enjoyment of constitutional liberty equal to our own. Peace, liberty, happiness, and riches, were the real objects of the French revolution; and it is in our power to procure them for her, by making, as above proposed, a friendly peace, favourable to them, even in guaranteeing the dynasty of the French Emperor. Such conduct would have a powerful tendency to remove national animosities between the two countries; but they are animosities which spring from causes unnecessary to enumerate in proposing a plan of peace, that would be certain to eradicate them.

A principal obstacle to forming such a treaty, as is now proposed, arises from objections made to the present emperor of France; the same, however, had previously been urged against the nation at large, but found untenable, because they have been relinquished. But should personal motives interfere, though well founded, when the cause proposed is entirely distinct from them? Are not the peace

proposed, and the interests of the predestined Scheme of Human Welfare connected with it, referable to a greater power than Napoleon? Shall we cease to reverence this greatest of powers, who has created the grand Scheme of Human Economy, and the peace derived from it, because the French Emperor has, in different respects, offended, and forfeited our esteem?

Beside the reasons alleged, why we should make no peace with him, will not stand the test of examination.—The implacability he is charged with is imaginary, and was not shown by him in any respect, when Austria and Russia lay prostrate at his feet. His crime of having assumed a vacant throne, a crime that was become necessary for the real interests of a nation, irreconcilable with her former race of monarchs, is sufficiently justified by innumerable precedents. His ambition seems to have been called forth in a natural course of proceeding, by the events of the times; on one hand, by the aspiring genius of the revolution, on the other hand, by the wars wherein we actually involved him ourselves; and having reached its farthest limits, now inclines to concentre itself in the consummation of the arts of improvement and civilization, the institution of which, on the scale he proposes to adopt, is highly conducive to our own interests. The peace proposed is, in all respects, consistent with our safety and advantage, as the plan will testify: and we are certain that he is ready to embrace it, and will find his interest gratified by it, in all respects, and must, therefore,

be sincere in adopting it, were his understanding even weak, as it is allowed to be the contrary.—We ought, therefore, but more especially because the Plan is to be considered as the interest of the Almighty himself, and of mankind at large, rather than of the Emperor, not to delay making peace; and, in making it, we should render the Emperor friendly or sincerely attached to us, by treating him with cordiality and respect; by guaranteeing his possession of the throne, and the continuance of the sovereignty in his family, conformably to the inclinations of his people; by supporting his government, at all times, and permitting no attacks to be made upon his character, from Frenchmen who reside among us; and by showing him our sincerity in respect of his interests and the terms of the peace, will keep an equal pace with his own upon these subjects.

It remains to mention another general view, proposed to be effected by a friendly peace taking place in the manner that has been pointed out,—that of the co-operation, or joint sovereignty, of the two nations, exercised for instituting the improvement of the world at large, and all such measures as may be conducive in consummating the prosperity and happiness of other nations. They are, from their situation, and the power they possess, the proper agents for purposes so commendable in all respects; and they would duly influence each other to pay proper regard to the interests of the other parties, to the principal of which, to the maintenance of peace among nations, the

exercise of their joint sovereignty in its support, might be highly propitious.

Head II.—Under this may be arranged all such considerations as relate to the political interests of other nations, no immediate parties to the plan; interests which France and Great Britain should not invade, or violate, but which are to be advanced by the services of their joint co-operation, instituted through the world at large for this purpose, as well as by their separate attention to their interests, in such manner as may best expedite the common prosperity, happiness, and security of mankind. For the two leading nations, thus happily reconciled, should employ their strenuous efforts for the end of promoting the interests of all others with the strictest regard to justice and liberality. In particular these should enjoy the advantages that arise from the free and liberal intercourse of nations: and it is the flourishing state of industry in all countries, which is most favourable to the commerce of any particular nation, in multiplying the production of articles, increasing thereby their exchange, which is the proper source of commercial profit. A liberal policy would be still more advantageous to us, because France has greater political influence than we have, in her wider connections with nations. But we ought certainly to attend to the interests, and friendship, of the higher independent powers, especially Russia, and the United States of America, as far as is consistent with the conditions of the peace made between France and ourselves. On the other hand, Russia and

the United States would always be favourably disposed to support us, because we are necessary, on their behalf, to balance the power of France; provided, however, we ourselves made no improper use of power.

The extension of national improvement throughout the world, would, however, be the grand object of the co-operation of France and Great Britain, as their union is to be directed to serve mankind at large. The improvement of the world requires to be introduced upon the largest scale, foreign and domestic, in order to give strength to nations, support their independence with additional power, extend the grand mart of the universe, dispose them to be pacific, and furnish the means requisite to gratify their interests, which would otherwise be pursued in the continuance or perpetuity of wars. Happily, this is no vain desideratum, as is manifest from the recent improvement of the new world. The progress of national improvement is even rapid: there are proper means to accomplish it, as a regular business; among which may be mentioned, on the occasion, the combination of Great Britain and France for the purpose, the attention of which would hereby be diverted from war, the art of practical improvement, industry at home, and commerce abroad, the Scheme of Human Economy now discovered, the civilization of slaves and of warmer climates in a present state of barbarity, the judicious employment of a capital, the tendency of which to accumulate is highly favourable, the services of the funding system, in fine, a

proper plan of operations, that may be devised for the purpose. By the improvement of finance accompanying the progress of the Scheme of Human Economy, national debts would be liquidated, but the funding system should be still continued, in order to raise an adequate capital wherewith national improvements could be advanced on an adequate scale; the public guaranteeing the loans, the private borrowers discharging their dividends, and finding competent security for a longer or shorter period in the improvements themselves. On the other hand, war becoming a rare occurrence, which has hitherto swallowed up an amount of capital that, by this time, would have improved all the planets of our solar system, nations will, themselves, invest large capitals in extensive improvements, as well as be able to afford the most extensive recompence to all departments of service.—It is, however, a misfortune inseparable from the progress of national improvement, that the success of the interests connected with it may sometimes give occasion to war: at least, the subversion of the Ottoman Empire appears a very probable event, to take place in the improvement of the ancient world. Should it, however, be a high law of meliorative economy, that states and empires may fall, in order to answer higher purposes of civilization, when they themselves have originated in conquest and destruction, yet their Princes, in descending from the throne, should be rendered equally, or more prosperous in different situations.

The security of the several advantages nations possess by their

mutual intercourse with one another, the security of the enjoyment of their rights through the world at large, and of the existence of their independence itself, in a proper balance of power established between them, is a political subject of the highest moment; and remains to be noticed under the present head. But it is of greater urgency on account of the material changes the balance of power has lately undergone. On one hand, the various successes of France upon the Continent have placed the power here wholly in her hands; on the other, we have acquired, equally, as complete an ascendency upon the seas. In the mean time, other nations are great sufferers from one or both, the continuance of the absolute domination of which, in these two modes, is, from its certainty of being abused, an alarming consideration for them. It is no less alarming to the two nations themselves, as it is the cause of the present, the most inveterate ever known, of wars, in which they are engaged. If a compromise be not here effected, France must aim to acquire the sovereignty of the world; and it is peace alone, that can prevent it, as may be inferred from what has been advanced in the first chapter, from the certainty there shown of France acquiring actual superiority over Great Britain in the issue of a war, that is to be terminated by conquest alone. During the contention, the nations which should support the balance against France, are daily weakened, and prevented from being competent to the office; they in the end will be wholly under her control. To delay the establishment of the balance, and to establish no balance, are inferences equally impolitic and ruinous

to mankind, and no other than a tacit assent to confirm, previously extending, the universal sovereignty of France.

The means of establishing a new balance of power, sufficient to control the domination of France, exist in the present strength of Great Britain, in the rising greatness of the United States of America, in the independency, or aggrandizement, of the two large empires of Russia and Austria, in those of Prussia, Denmark, and Sweden, in the erection of new states, as such may incidentally occur, and in the flourishing condition of the whole, effected by the institution of the proper Scheme of Human Economy, and the improvement of the world; these extending to the federate powers of France themselves, which, in this case, if ill-used by her inordinate impolicy, would be certain to be able to arise against her. The means, beyond question, would be an adequate protection to the world from the power of France. They would progressively increase in influence and efficacy; and time, the best political instrument, where other expedients which we can approve are wanting, would not fail of perfectly adjusting the balance. We shall have then, and we have now, no reason to lament the subversion of the late balance of power in the reduction of independent states that composed it. The number of considerable nations, Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, which could at pleasure influence the continent, and so many states here ready at all times to co-operate with any of those in opposite interests, always prevented the adoption of uniform plans of policy; and,

consequently, involved the whole world in war with short, but finally without any, remissions. For one preponderating power was wanting, which will now be supplied by the ascendency of France upon the continent, to control the lesser aggregate powers here assembled. Therefore, the present and future elevation of the five grand nations of the world, Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria, and the United States, as they supersede the late infinite distribution of power in Europe, must be highly favourable to the peace of the world; and in their magnitude they will be least capable of inquietude, and agitation. At the same time, political jealousies, virulence, and intrigue, must abate in a greater ratio than the reduction of the number of political powers, if we may judge from the inconsistency of their conduct in past times upon the continent, their interference here on the weakest grounds, the inefficiency and mutability of their different projects and enterprizes.

Great Britain, as the actual mistress of the seas, is, consequently, the mistress of the world. Her influence affects immediately all maritime nations, likewise all interior nations, both by its direct and indirect effects upon their inland commerce. At the same time, she is a party the least controllable in the balance of power, as her maritime superiority is necessary, both for her own existence, and the advantage of a World that can ill brook the ascendency of France both by sea and land. The abuses of her power are, however, best restrained by her own correction or prevention of them, means for which

may, hereafter, be incidentally offered, but most effectually by her adoption of the present grand proposal of the British Dispensation, and the improvement of the world, and by associating her sovereignty with that of France for the common benefit of mankind. At the same time, France being ready, as may be requisite, to join the other powers in any unjust violations of their interests on our part, the weight of Great Britain in the general balance, may be considered capable of being satisfactorily adjusted. It may be completely adjusted by the different territories it is hereafter proposed Great Britain should hold upon the continent, because both France and other powers would in this case be able to punishall such violations. While the naval power of Great Britain is a strong counterbalance to the ascendency of France on the continent, the latter, even when she relinquishes to us the dominion of the seas, would thus possess, by land, as she ought, a due control upon our proceedings at sea. In fine, nothing need be left unsupplied in any respect, that is essential to the purity and brightness of the independence of nations, and the genuine heat and vitality they should dispense to one another, without commotions, darkness, convulsions, and farther overthrow of the dearest interests of mankind. The united sovereignties could have no common motive to oppress the others: their interests, it will be seen, can be perfectly gratified, without interference in the interests of the rest of the world; and France, no doubt, will be disposed to comply with the conditions, to which her assent is indispensable in establishing a new balance of power, by her reason and good sense;

by her necessities, which urge her to obtain peace almost upon any tolerable conditions, upon conditions much less palatable than those which the balance proposed requires; and by the inestimable value of such a plan as is now offered her, wherein every thing is secured that can advance her prosperity and happiness, even upon the views of policy she has herself embraced, and considers alone to be worthy of her attention.

Head III.—Under this may be considered the more immediate, or appropriate, means by which the above general views of conciliating Great Britain and France in permanent peace, and jointly attending to their several interests, also those of duly attending in like manner to the interests of all other nations, and those of accomplishing all other objects essential to the plan of peace proposed, may actually be compassed, and carried into effect. Before proposing the means, it is, however, proper to premise different considerations, that relate both to what has already been treated of, and what is to follow, and are subservient, as it were, to the unity of the plan proposed, its organization, or connection.

The fundamental principle of the plan has been discussed in the first head, whereby it is proposed to render the two nations instrumental, in the highest degree, to their mutual interests, or the most confidential and valuable friends to each other. Their interests are, however, not the sole predominant feature of the plan; but philan-

thropy, justice, generosity, in short, all the energies of the different political powers explained in the last chapter, are concentred therein, and cannot fail of rendering the plan acceptable to both parties, as well as efficient in the highest degree. France cannot, by different means, procure a peace, that will avail, or rather peace at all; but, in refusing her assent to its more indispensable conditions, will throw away, in one precious gem, all the political and economical blessings her heroism, industry, and ingenuity can possibly ever achieve in the course of time. Her commerce will be deprived of the opportunity of rising to a height and extent she has hitherto not thought of reaching. Her new imperial dynasty will want that ratification, which would place it beyond the reach of contingencies: and she would lose in us a valuable ally, essentially serviceable to her in the new system of improvement she patronizes of the ancient world, which must raise Russia and Austria to a pitch of aggrandizement, attended with hazard to herself, although she should be possessed of the whole western part of the continent. Hence, for further arguments are superfluous, she would be disposed to sacrifice all the considerations, which it may be supposed would induce her not to admit the institution of a proper balance of power throughout the world, in the place of that so recently lost, her refusal to which, would indeed destroy her interests with all nations; and to assent to a certain limitation of her marine, more particularly defined hereafter, her assent to which will likewise gratify all nations: for the present acquired greatness of her strength by land, would be highly dangerous

from an accession of equal maritime strength, and its limitation an essential condition to make the peace secure to this country, and prevent future jealousies and estrangement between them.

On the other hand, Great Britain would be equally ready to prescribe to herself all such regulations and conduct, as may be requisite to prevent her maritime dominion from being harassing, offensive, highly injurious, and destructive to the interests of the world at large: for, perhaps, all the European powers have experienced, from the want of those, as serious grievances, or rather more serious grievances than Mr. Baring informs us have been experienced by the United States in their maritime commerce. Naval dominion is indispensable to Great Britain; yet she should be aware, for certainly she is insufficiently aware, that it is the dominion of tyranny, excusable solely by the necessity of it to her preservation, and by its exercise not otherwise interfering with the rights of others, than the support of her independence renders indispensable. On account of the injurious effects her wars produce to all the maritime powers, it is particularly incumbent upon her to patronize the proposal of a plan of perfect peace, and actually to institute it, whether as a trial, or as a perfect plan that cannot fail of success. In fine, it behoves us to convince the world of the sincerest disposition, on our parts, to render our naval power in all respects compatible with the interests of mankind, in order that all nations whatever, may concur with perfect satisfaction in leaving the maritime trident in our hands. We should ever retain it in our grasp, but it is true policy never to employ it in

any shape, in peace, or in war, unless in case of actual compulsion, in support alone of our independency brought into hazard.

Even the perpetuity of peace between the two countries, rests upon truly simple foundations, and is in fact, therefore, practicable. For what can be more simple than the essential requisites to this important end? The first is the mutual gratification of their interests in a wide world wherein these cannot interfere, but, as they are favourable to one, they are beneficial to both; another is a limitation in respect of maritime affairs, which can be injurious to neither, the want of which has hitherto been infinitely destructive, and should, consequently, be immediately supplied. Farther, what is requisite to make France and Great Britain real friends is practised in common life, is by real services to make an enemy a real friend; positively thus to effect the conciliation of a rival, whose emulation will necessarily be changed into ardour and beneficence, when he must, in his future transactions, be employed wholly upon interests unavoidably beneficial to both. Finally, the two nations, as they would be able to prevent either from being hostilley attacked, so they alone have the power of injuring or destroying themselves. But the motive, suchas it hitherto has been, of themselves going to war, would become weak and ridiculous to both in an enlightened state of civilization: while the attempt would be no less prophane than to destroy the grand fabric of national prosperity, and individual happiness, erected upon the solid foundations of the true original scheme of human economy, and the British Dispensation;

for it would most certainly appear in this light to both nations, when they concluded peace in the manner, and according to the views, now proposed.

So simple in its practical foundations is the plan of peace proposed, in respect of its great objects of efficiency and duration: therefore, the appropriate means of conciliating the two nations, and jointly attending to their interests, with those of other nations, and, likewise, the appropriate means of accomplishing the other objects essential to the plan, it may be presumed, will be able, whatever they are, to be carried into effect with every possible advantage. It is time, however, to proceed to treat of them more particularly.

It would be a principal object to unite the two countries by their mercantile interests; the treaty would, therefore, be a commercial, as well as a political alliance, embracing all enlightened views whatever, that can contribute to the dissemination of trade throughout the World. As far as present and future circumstances might permit, neither of the two countries would seek a monopoly of each others market, or even of that of other nations, but be directed by that vital principle of commerce, the greatest possible production of articles of industry in all nations, in order that their exchange may be increased with a proportional extension of mercantile profit upon them. Thus the two nations would freely open the various sources of wealth there are in the world; and diffusing over the globe, upon

the wings of commerce, expanded at large, whatever means of prosperity and happiness art and nature might produce, lay the foundations of an universal commerce infinitely valuable to both. Their trade and manufactures would, with the peace, rapidly increase in respect of their own markets, which they would open to each other, having no longer any reason to exclude each other, but the contrary, as being the best customers either can have in trade; while their commerce, with that of the world at large, would arrive at a height hitherto accounted visionary in the general augmentation of its inexhaustible riches. The commercial greatness of our country, flourishing in peace, and being relieved from its financial embarrassments, would be securely established upon its immense increasing capital, the intrinsic value of its natural productions, its insular situation, and great extent of empire; should we be rivalled in our superior machinery, and the dexterity, vigour, and ingenuity of our industry. The propagation of national improvement throughout the empire, would rapidly increase those advantages, and become another source of the highest importance to our trade, as well as to our strength and population. At the same time, the treaty would give us all fair commercial advantages with the federate allies of France; and, while her own market would be one of the best of the world, our advantages in it would be multiplied in proportion to her territorial aggrandizement.

The terms of the treaty, it is supposed, would concede all the advantages immediately requisite for the support of our maritime superiority; which object may be effected without injuring the commerce of France. The interests of her navigation would cease to be a consideration by our proper observance of the treaty, as has already been pointed out, and by her dominions being territorial, contiguous, and not in general such as may be called maritime. Having no need of attending to fisheries, she might favour us in respect of them both in her own and other markets; and while she permitted us to enjoy the advantages essential to our maritime superiority in our navigation act, she would not counteract them by adopting a similar law on account of her shipping interests. Accessions of territory we may receive by the treaty, would naturally be accommodated to the extention of our navigation; and our colonial interests would be protected, as far as may be requisite for the same end. All fears and jealousies whatever, on our part, respecting her navy, would be removed, by leaving the particulars that may relate to it open to our information, and even by keeping her armies at a distance from our coast. In fine, none of our naval prerogatives should be infringed, but improved by proper concessions on her part, and even by a limitation of the French marine, as has already been treated of, and will be resumed in a subsequent chapter.

It would be a very important part of the treaty, to satisfy the two countries in respect of retaining their late territorial acquisitions,

in respect of what farther accessions may be made to these, of what similiar indulgencies should be extended to other nations, and of other interests incidental to the improvement of the world. These important objects require particular attention, and it will be necessary to treat of them separately, or offer some observation upon each of them, in succession.

The first consideration here is the proper disposition of the territoral acquisitions, whether by Great Britain or by France, made since the French resolution, as these now severally hold them, with what observations may be requisite or pertinent. Their remaining in the hands of the present possessors, with certain important exceptions and modifications, is, however, the most favourable to the comprehensive views of the plan of peace now proposed. For their relative positions would thus singularly contribute to the security and advautage of both countries, as well as to the exercise of their joint sovereignty in the improvement of the world, and the consummation of the interests of nations. One exception, at least, though others will be mentioned hereafter, should be made in our favour, by the return of the principality of Hanover into the hands of its elector, should the re-possession of it in that state, subject to which it must thereafter be held, prove agreeable to our royal sovereign. It may, and should, be held as an independent sovereignty; and the federation of the Rhine can dispense without its junction, or may be enlarged by some other substitute in its stead. In consequence of the German

Empire being subject to France, an isolated state here, like Hanover, *would not probably prove a source of political interference between her and ourselves, but would be held with views altogether different in the perfect peace intended.* At least, in this case, it would fall a ready sacrifice in the event of war, and might then be re-annexed to the confederacy. In our hands, it would be subservient to the free intercourse of the continent, render this less dependant on the power of France, and contribute, as was before explained, to preserve the balance of power. On these grounds we ought to re-possess it, if there be no insurmountable obstacle in the way; or, if there should, some other substitute must be made to our royal family, as will be proposed. In the event of war arising between France, and us from other causes, its retention should not engage us in its defence, because, with peace, it would be restored to the elector, through the influence of his British dominions.

No reduction is proposed by me, of the number of federate powers, with which France is now surrounded on all hands, even as they respect Italy, Holland, or Spain, and their dependencies. Not only it would be certain to be refused, but it might render disservice by increasing the number of independent powers, particularly inferior powers here, wholly for the purposes of intrigue; and by rendering France averse to agree with the proposed limitation of her maritime power, since, in this case, she would part with means that might be necessary in future, to oppose our possible abuse of ours

against her interests. On the contrary, we should guarantee France in respect of her different federate powers; form commercial alliances with them ourselves; and promote their interests, as far as lies in our power. Whatever influence France may thus acquire in Spanish America, would not clash with our interests here, but extend them; prove serviceable, through the treaty proposed, in enabling us always to maintain our American empire; and is indispensable for the two nations holding the joint sovereignty over this continent, as well as the rest of world.

We should assist in completing the purposes of such a federation, in order to render the peace proposed as efficient as possible. On this account, perhaps even Sicily should be ceded, and restored to Italy, if its sovereign could be indemnified elsewhere; it being highly impolitic in us to engage ourselves in the defence of this Island against the French at a future period. The prosperity of the federate allies of France might be instrumental to their independence, should the above new balance of power undergo any revolution at a future period. In this light it may be real policy, as well as a debt due on our part, to contribute to the territorial aggrandizement of the kingdom of Holland. On this account we may even restore the Cape, should our possession of this be thought an incumbrance, in agreeing to the proposal to be mentioned under the next article in our favour of a considerable territorial accession, and most important aggrandizement of the Empire, in a different quarter of the world. For that nation

through her capital, and natural connections with Germany, may be able in time to cultivate the whole of the Southern part of Africa, while it would be highly impolitic in us, either to make an attempt of the kind, or to obstruct the progress of improvement in this valuable part of the world.

The next subject for consideration is that of the different accessions of territory, which should be added to the dominions of Great Britain and France. For the advantages they will receive from them are considerable in themselves, and much greater, as they will enable them in their joint sovereignty, to forward the improvement of the world at large. In fine, the incentives of ambition and avarice would be fully gratified in their attainment; and the peace of these nations could no longer be interrupted by such dreadful enemies to both. It must, however, be acknowledged, that the following reasons may be alleged, why we should not enlarge our foreign dominions, especially to such a degree as will be proposed. But if it appear they would exceed the strength of the present Empire, yet the population that already subsists in the territories themselves proposed to be added, the great powers at hand to assist us, the effectual arts of civilization intended to be employed, and other particulars, are adequate considerations for superseding this objection. If they appear to prevent the improvement of our valuable domestic resources, already neglected in a blamable extreme, they may, notwithstanding, remove such inattention, by the necessity arising in

this case, that the progress of our domestic improvements should correspond with the extension of our foreign dominions. Both parties could be satisfied, and brought to a good agreement upon the changes proposed; but could be reconciled solely in this mode, because France thinks it indispensable for her prosperity to enlarge her foreign dominions, and we should refuse our consent, unless we participated in an equal advantage of a similar mode of aggrandizement. Independently, however, of this consideration, it may be observed that, both their Empires being already large and extensive, this would remedy any inconveniences rising from a sudden aggrandizement, and more readily dispose them to accede to the proposal. At least, all obstacles would be swallowed up in such territorial magnitude, which are usually drawn from the superiority of trifling advantages, or the variable balances of trade, as favourable or unfavourable to the parties.

The improvement of the ancient world might be greatly facilitated by means already proposed; and, it appears, will otherwise be undertaken, if we do not share in it. A part, therefore, ought to be allotted to us, which should be the Southern half of Asia Minor from the Mediterranean Sea to Persia, comprising the City Bussorah, with the Persian Gulph; and, erected into a kingdom, to be called the kingdom of Assyria, with our possession of Malta, would furnish us a competent share in the improvement proposed, at the same time be highly valuable in its natural fertility, and a strong security to our

Indian Empire. Austria and Russia will probably acquire the Northern part of the Turkish Empire, and, it is proposed, the French should have Egypt; by which several means, and the military force we could draw from Hindûstan, our new kingdom would be effectually supported on all hands, as see the next article, without any very extraordinary measures being taken on our part. How this partition may be rendered safe to our Indian Empire, and in what manner the civilization of Assyria, as it is called, could readily be effected, is, however, a subject too large to detail here, and is fully discussed in my publications. On the other hand, the French, besides Egypt, should have a preponderating influence on the Northern coasts of Africa; and Greece, rendered an independent state, would more naturally court the protection of France than ours. However, cultivation, improvement, aggrandizement, and civilization, would be thus opened upon a grand scale, which is the most commendable means of diverting the attention of both Empires from the farther prosecution of war.

Another accession of territory, proposed in our favour, is the cession of Pondicherry and Chandernagore, in the East Indies, to Great Britain; for it is an object of considerable consequence, that France should have no opportunity of interferring with our interests in Hindûstan. Another accession, proposed to our foreign Empire, is that of Portugal. For its restoration to its late possessor would be fatal to the improvement of South America, and the interests of the

Brazils, and, in our defence of it, exposes us to differences that ought by all means to be avoided in future with France. On the other hand, in the loss of it by the event of war, our national consequence would be sure to restore it with the return of peace; and it could, during peace, be governed, could it not be defended by us, during war, through means of the present wealth and population of the country? Thus, likewise, the mutual interests of Portugal and the Brazils would be best supported; and we should have the greatest right to the kingdom on this account, independently of the consideration, that it would be a proper substitute to offer our own Royal Family, whether for the relinquishment of the Electorate of Hanover, or the more precarious tenure by which it would hold this in future. For it is to be considered, that the possession of this kingdom may be held by us at all times, in peace, like an extensive factory, that need not interfere with political affairs. In respect of other territorial accessions Great Britain may wish to appropriate, she perhaps need only to point out such: for there is an opportunity for her to procure new territories, or situations, in the world, that are yet unformed or uncivilized, as is obvious from what follows:

It remains to be considered, what territorial advantages other nations are to receive, as well as Great Britain and France; what new independent states may arise in the progress of the improvement of the world, in consequence of its improvement actually taking place, and being brought forward by the united sovereignties of the

two countries co-operating for the purpose. For, on so comprehensive a subject, it is necessary, at least, to mention some of the interesting points. It may, therefore, be observed, that the two great powers in the eastern part of Europe, Austria and Russia, should be aggrandized, or rendered as strong and independent as may be consistent with the interests of Great Britain and France, not only for the purpose of rendering justice to them as nations, but of advancing, by their means, the improvement of the ancient world, and procuring, through their strength, an effectual balance of power, for the support of the independency of nations. Therefore, in the intended subversion of the Ottoman empire, Constantinople, it would appear, should be given to Russia, with a considerable tract of territory adjoining to it, and situate elsewhere perhaps, while the boundaries of her empire on the South should be fixed by the interior seas of this part of the world. On the other hand, Austria should receive the Danube, with a suitable accession of territory adjoining it, and, laying elsewhere, communicate with the Black Sea, and possess the Northern part of Asia Minor, bounded on the South by the kingdom of Assyria, supposed to become a part of our own Empire. Thus the industry of her large empire would be effectually excited by so extensive an aggrandizement: she would check the power of Russia in her proposed aggrandizement, through the intervention of the Danube, and territory contiguous to this; and would be at hand to be a valuable friend here to our new territories, and our possessions in Hindûstan. At the same time, the degraded Sultan, with those

irreconcilably attached to the intolerance of the Mohammedan religion, may be provided with a liberal accommodation in Candia, or other countries. Denmark and Sweden might, likewise, be favoured, in different respects, if not at home, if not, on account of their poverty, by the assistance of a loan of capital to advance their domestic improvements, yet by foreign acquisitions of real value and opulence.

But the interests of all the several parts of the world should be duly attended to, and their improvements equably cultivated. Civilization should every where visit the continent of Africa, particularly its Western, South, and Eastern coasts; new states here be formed in the native inhabitants, or Europeans settled in the more fertile situations of this neglected tract of country. An independent empire might be founded on the river La Plata, in America, which, from language and similarity of customs, might still continue to give the preference to the mother country, while, perhaps, it could not prove injurious to the western dominions of Spain, in America, but would be a useful rival to the new Brazilian Empire, and rapidly advance the improvement of South America. However, the United States of America should, on this occasion, be attended to with the greatest distinction, being a power of essential consequence in the balance of power, and a most valuable ally both to France and Great Britain. This is particularly necessary on our part, lest the past, or present, abuses of our naval power should, which there is some reason

to fear, precipitate us into a war with them. We should, therefore, favour the neutral commerce of the United States, as may be necessary at the present, or a future period: and we should free them from the intolerable grievance of searching their ships for English sailors. For the search might, I apprehend, be prevented by registering our sailors at home; by knowing, at regular periods, where they have been in the preceding interval of time; by laws passed in America against all masters of vessels who might employ English sailors without our leave: by abstaining from search in the open seas, and, as Mr. Baring proposes, on the shores of the United States. The French would readily concur with whatever advantages ought to be extended to those states: and it is essential to the improvement of the world, that their industry should be directed to the agriculture of their immense territory, rather than to trade, while, by this means, the consumption of European manufactures would render them a valuable friend both to France and Great Britain.

In concluding the present head, it may be observed, that different appropriate means of accomplishing the views and objects of the plan of peace proposed, will occur in the succeeding chapter; and, though others might have been suggested here, the present are considered to be sufficient for the purpose, while farther addition would have loaded the plan, and rendered its unity and efficaciousness less manifest; while, whatever other means can be suggested,

it is at least certain they can readily be accommodated to the support of the plan. *It is sufficient to find, on mature examination, what alone is material,* that all the effectual means have been proposed, all the masterly views explored, all the essential considerations advanced, that are necessary to overcome every difficulty adverse to the consummation of the grand plan of peace proposed; that they are all of the highest importance to the political and different interests of Great Britain, exceeding, in the result of their advantages, her highest expectations; that, with the maintenance of our Empire in its present state, on the general terms of *uti possidetis,* and with addition of the terms to be found in the preceding treaties, they constitute perfect peace itself; that the aggregate is as plain and simple, as commensurate to its various purposes, depends wholly on facts, employs no other than the proper language of truth, and it is worthy of all the strict attention this requires.

Head. IV.—It is also advisable, for reasons just stated, not to consider at length the present head; not to detail the energies inherent in the proper political powers or principles, intended for the purpose of carrying into effect all such appropriate means, as are requisite to accomplish the general views and objects, whereby the plan of peace is proposed to procure a permanent, secure, immediate, and highly advantageous peace; to advance all the interests dependent on such a peace; and, when advanced, to support peace by that means in its consummated perfection. These political powers or principles,

were likewise treated at sufficient length, in the preceding chapter; and it is sufficient to enumerate them, in order to evince that their operative energies are competent to perfect the plan of peace proposed. For what cannot be effected by the nine principles of national strength, of motives, of interest, of the practical arts of improvement, of the sound abilities that form a real statesman, of moral efficacy, of beneficent liberality, of pacific philanthropy, and of civilization, the opposite to a state of barbarity? What energy can these political principles want to mature and perfect peace, if we complete their number, as we may, through a simple process, by giving them the irresistible powers derived from the present discovery of the true Original Scheme of Human Economy; from our being at length acquainted with what are the real nature, powers, and purposes of religion; from the efficacious employment of these, by the institute of the British dispensation, in the improvement of the world; and from the actual injunctions of the government of Almighty God himself over nations at this time despising all laws, human and divine? Injunctions that tend immediately to restore to men the sense of shame, to restrain the hands of abandoned ferociousness, to remind us there is a God, a principle of humanity in man, and a genius likewise to be employed for the best of purposes, for effecting a state of things altogether the reverse! All Sovereigns and nations would then, without delay, attend to the combined force of those political principles, and, actuated alike with the true dignity of human nature, her refined sentiments, and pure principles, be able to embrace as real brothers

of the same species, destined to form one universal society in the primitive commonwealth of mankind. Peace would become a grand substantial fabric, which, concentring all executive talents, would realize whatever true policy could devise for the prosperity and happiness of mankind, and the honour of the most high God! Our wars would no longer be traced to political views, or projects, ill-concerted, unsubstantial, originating even in levity and inquietude. Political talents would be established every where in perfection: and government be changed into administrative ability, and meliorative art, no longer be ruinous and dependant on routine and speculation, but become competent to renovate empires that decline, and to consummate their prosperity and happiness.

CHAPTER V.

That the Plan of Peace proposed, is, in all respects, compatible with our national security, and the interests of the Empire, should our naval power be found inferior to that of France; that our naval power must however always maintain its present superiority over that of France, by its natural advantages, and different means we may employ in its favour; that the naval power of both countries may, and should, be limited.

Section I.—*That the Plan of peace proposed is, in all respects,*

compatible with our national security, and competent to maintain the interests of the Empire, should our naval power be found inferior to that of France.

Head I.—For states and nations, greatly inferior to others in strength and extent of territory, have not, as the history of the world evinces in respect of Greece and Persia, of Switzerland and Austria, Sweden and Russia, and of the naval powers of Spain and England, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, been therefore subdued and brought under the dominion of the latter; but that, on the contrary, they have been more than able to vindicate their rights and interests, having, in different instances, acquired an actual ascendancy.

Head II.—The resources, foreign and domestic, of the British Empire, are competent, through the medium of improvement, to afford an almost infinite increase of food, opulence, and population, to answer economical wants, and furnish a force, offensive and defensive, military and naval, adequate to our national exigencies; as this would appear from a full examination and knowledge of so important a subject, if what has already been said upon the subject of national improvement be insufficient proof.

Head III.—The people may be rendered wholly military, without being drawn from their respective local residences, and disciplined so as to become actual soldiers without trouble, inconvenience, or other consequences in any degree objectionable; a plan for which, proposed

in my publications, either is perfect, or could readily be rendered so, by farther consideration, or the assistance of the several persons who have turned their attention to this important subject. For if the whole of the people can be effectually instructed in the use of arms, and at the same time inspired with a martial spirit, the United Kingdoms may at all periods be defended from invasion, as well as the whole of the foreign Empire.

Head IV.—There are proper modes of inspiring the mass of the people with the true martial spirit, as well as of effectually instructing them in discipline, or of making them a martial people, victorious and unconquerable in their numbers and courage. These modes are intimately connected with the accomplishment of the true original Scheme of Human Economy above proposed, and the consequent consummation of the public and private interests of the Empire at large. The monarch and his people are supposed to be herein indissolubly united by duty and affection in a general design of national and individual welfare, accompanied with the revival of real public and social love; to remedy, by its means, all grievances and avoidable evils, and accomplish the greatest possible services; and all the different ranks and stations, to be happily blended together in the defence or vindication of their country, and its rights, through an object that comprises every thing dear and essential to their interests. At the same time, as far as the nature and order of government permit, that ardour is to be inspired, which the con-

comitants of true liberty supply, the sense of individual security, true independence of mind, enlightened views, and undaunted courage in the service of our country: but while the valour, merits, and services of the subject, or the soldier, are to be recompensed as circumstances require, backwardness and cowardice should be rendered ignominious.

Head V.—While it is supposed the French navy, and that of her allies, would be greatly superior in number to the British fleet, yet the latter, it is likewise supposed, would be equal in all respects to what it is at present. Therefore, in its superior energies, skill, and courage, as far as these could operate, it would be able to triumph, as usual, against a considerable superiority of numbers; or by manœuvres and knowledge of navigation, it would preserve itself from destruction, while it could convey supplies wherever wanted, and co-operate with an army and martial people unconquerable by land, who, as above-mentioned, would be able effectually to protect us from invasion. It would be even competent to maintain the most distant interests of the Empire, by harassing the enemy's commerce in all quarters of the globe, as well as on their own coasts; and by thus carrying on war without interruption, until justice was rendered to the least of our interests. It would be that Algiers, which its enemies could not subdue; which could carry on the dreaded military system of this piratical state with a terror and effect that would guard us agains

wrongs and oppression, and, accompanied by a wise policy, would be sufficient to maintain peace, and the national happiness and prosperity.

Head VI. A most material service, we should experience in a just war, waged against France and her federate allies, and which might approximate us to an equality with them, or might render us actually superior to them, would be the interference of the independent powers in our favour, either by their armies on land invading France, or by their fleet uniting with ours at sea. In these modes, we might receive very considerable aid from Russia, Austria, the United States of America, Denmark, and Sweden; powers that, having availed themselves of the grand system of practical improvement recommended by the present plan, might have rapidly increased, to such a degree of strength and affluence, as to be both willing and able to protect a nation like Great Britain, whose energies are the main part of the balance of power of the world itself. We, on the contrary, should maintain their good-will at all times, by a wise policy, but particularly by permitting neutral commerce to exercise its fair privileges in time of war. It is the worst policy, though recommended by eminent writers, though it is in reality the British system, to inflict upon the people of the enemy, through the medium of neutral commerce, extreme injuries of all kinds, commercial, financial, or others, public and private, which it is in our power. For such injuries can only avail us, and bring the war to a speedier conclusion, as they immediately affect their shipping interests; consequently, they should

be restricted solely to operate against these. The contrary system has been highly injurious to ourselves, so as greatly to overbalance the advantages we have drawn from it: and it is unnecessary to practice it, on account of affording plunder to our sailors, whose condition, and due recompence for their services, are supposed to be provided for, in an effectual manner, as a part of the plan of peace now proposed.

SECTION II. *That our naval power may always maintain its present superiority over France, by its natural advantages, and different means we may employ in its favour, such as are here recommended.*

HEAD I. The maritime industry of Great Britain possesses, in the combined force of numbers and energies, peculiar, as well as incalculable, advantages over that of France and her federate allies. The maritime carriage of Great Britain at home, that is, around the three United Kingdoms, and between their different ports and the metropolis, is of vast extent, and furnishes infinite employment in seas adapted to produce the best of mariners. The case is the reverse in respect of France, and her federate allies; the interior carriage of which is very great, in proportion to her maritime. Our export and import trade, also, far exceed theirs, and, from what has been said, are certain to continue in our favour, when the obstructions to our industry are removed by the true original scheme of human economy. Our present foreign territories, and those that have been proposed to be added to them, are, likewise, extensive and numerous, affording

all requisite encouragement to our navigation, by long voyages, suitable to perfect us as a maritime people; which advantages are denied to France, and, with some exceptions, to her federate allies. The provisions made in the treaty, would, farther, during peace, be highly conducive to the increase of our naval population. France, on the other hand, considerably less depends on foreign supplies by sea, and long voyages: nor are her interests, or her genius, maritime, but have become such as they are at present, principally from necessity; and it will only be through our impolicy, that she will rival, in any degree, our acquired skill and heroism in marine concerns.

Head II. We can multiply our naval population to a much greater amount than it is at present, by different means, some of which may here be proposed. In particular, we may, with important advantages in other views, erect the British fisheries into a regular establishment: and the accomplishment of this object would warrant the expense, should it require many millions, since this sum may readily be saved in preventing war, and would prove the means of preserving our national independence, and opening to us an immense source of wealth. All the capital wanted could, however, be easily advanced: the cultivation of land that would be requisite, could soon be effected, at a moderate expense, by means of lime, grass seeds, and the paring spade, very proper means for fertilizing the heath-lands on the Northern shores of Scotland, the adjoining isles, or Ireland; and, upon suitable economical plans, houses or villages, for the families of

fishermen, could soon be built, as well as all obstacles removed, and requisite comforts provided for them, through the aid of the practical art of national improvement.

Our naval population would increase, as sailors would become more numerous, and not enter into foreign service, in consequence of receiving kinder treatment at home. The rigours of impressment, might be greatly relieved in their favour, and, by means of registering them in the different ports, they might be employed, alternately, to a certain degree, in his majesty's service, at least with sufficient intervals for health and relaxation; and, when the immense expenditure of the country was not employed in incessant warfare, what sums might be spared for a handsome augmentation of their wages, and a due provision suitable to their happiness and welfare according to the period and nature of the services, wherein they may have been employed to fight for the support of the British Empire. A naval militia, should this resource ever be called for, might also be set on foot, for the purpose of providing a larger maritime force; and, becoming a martial people, thus rendering invasion impracticable, we could establish, in fact, a naval army.

Head III. The enormous expense, the immense labour, the dreadful operations requisite to destroy our empire, the concomitant dangers of invasion by land from the independent powers on the continent, which would be to be greatly dreaded, the hazard of

absolute destruction, the folly of an inferior attempt that would be sure to be attended with the loss of all the inestimable advantages France might derive from the present plan, the final result of her own extreme indignation rising in our favour against ill usage in an ally observing all the conditions of the treaty concluded, would be the most sacred means of maintaining this treaty, by which the superiority of our maritime power is formally admitted, and will be actually established, through proper measures taken on the part of France in consequence.

Head IV; or, lastly. While the magnitude of the marine of France, and her federate allies, would continue to be duly limited during peace, ours, in the mean time, will be as great as exigencies require; will be ready at all periods for actual service; and be able to enter into war with every requisite superiority over them, when hostilities can no longer be avoided in true policy.

Section III.—*That the maritime power of France, and, in some respects, of both countries, may, and should be, duly limited, as has already been proposed as one of the conditions of peace.*

The advantage of the proposal of limiting the French navy in number has already been discussed at sufficient length, and shown to be of the highest importance, while the limitation, instead of producing any disadvantages, would, on the contrary, be subservient in

the highest degree, and, in all respects, to the dearest and most vital interests of the French empire. It is a condition, that would prevent the possibility of a future competition between the two countries. At the same time it would afford a most valuable criterion of the pacific inclinations of France; any attempts of hers to infringe upon this condition, or to acquire a greater naval power than is requisite for her advantage, being in this case a clear indication of a hostile disposition on her part, and of the necessity of our taking proper measures to counteract its effects. Even should the limitation be an unnecessary measure, as has indeed been proved in the preceding sections, and as Lord Sidmouth, and the late administration, in making one peace, and negotiating for another, appear to have conceived no apprehensions of the possibility of the French acquiring a maritime superiority; it would yet prove a very advisable precaution by preventing, to a certainty, in future, the dreadful evil of the sanguinary and incessant contention of the two countries. It would be a wise policy to prevent all misconceptions arising at any time from fears of the French building a ship or two of war, more than they ought, which political jealousies and surmise, and national honour, may, on the most insufficient grounds, magnify into a cause of war, or a necessity for expensive preparations of war, highly injurious to the cordiality of the union proposed.

Such concessions would be made, on our parts, and such advantages given to France, whereby she might readily retaliate upon us at her

pleasure, as would render a limited inferiority of her navy, in no respect a national dishonour. For the two valuable possessions, the electorate of Hanover, and Portugal, it has been proposed in the plan, should be the actual means, whereby France could have the opportunity of making us at all times observe due respect to her, and the conditions of the treaty. Besides, it might be highly politic, on our part, to limit our own navy in a proportion agreeable to hers; which would, indeed, be a very conciliatory adjustment of this delicate concern. Her navy might be left the more respectable, by ours being in proportion larger. Any asperities whatever, that could arise in the course of the transaction, might be avoided by resigning the management of it, as much as possible, to the care of the economical council of the world, the establishment of which, under this name, is proposed in the third chapter. For the great importance of the article to the balance of power, and the cause of mankind at large, renders it a subject in every view proper for their direction and interference. This council should, therefore, be directed to make the subject of the relative state of the marine of the two countries a peculiar concern of theirs, to which they should duly attend, with a view to prevent it from involving them in war. For certainly their province ought to extend to the prevention of future wars, inasmuch as past wars, traced to their true sources, may in general be found to have been altogether unnecessary, and impolitic even in their origin.

It is proper here to offer some hints in respect of fixing the degree

of limitation proposed. It is, therefore, observed, that France could not expect her marine to be fixed in a larger ratio than that of her own marine, and of her federate allies being equal to ours. But she would agree to a lower limitation, which, on our part, should not be reduced too far, because we actually have nothing to apprehend from her marine in making peace on the conditions proposed. We should not wish, in policy, to be so superior, as to be able wholly to overpower the marine of France, when this can answer no salutary purpose. We, on one hand, as possessing, in peace, a larger naval force, would not foolishly, or impolitically, misemploy it, so as to impose upon her the necessity of possessing a superior fleet. She, on the other hand, would wish to provide no larger a navy than was requisite, in prudence, for security, thinking it both folly and extravagance, when there was no real occasion, to possess a fleet either equal or superior to ours; to cause what would thus cause perpetual war and jealousy. At the same time she, in her present power and influence upon the continent, will be less dependent upon maritime commerce, and, therefore, be able to place greater dependence upon the peace proposed, which would, at any rate, imply a virtual agreement not to increase her navy for the purpose of our destruction; she being, in the mean time, well aware of her competency to maintain her power by sea, in case a different policy was followed on our part from that inculcated at present. With the limitation now proposed, which ought by all means to be extended to both parties, the state of their naval preparations and proceedings should be laid

open at all times, every privacy whatever being excluded in respect to their different marines. It remains to add, the limitation would of course fix what number of ships each should have in commission during peace, which regulation, extraordinary circumstances excepted, would greatly reduce the expense of the peace establishment, as well as prevent any misunderstanding on this point; and, finally, to conclude the subject, by observing that, since it is now ascertained neither party, under the auspices proposed, can destroy the national independency of the other, it becomes highly advisable to employ the limitation for the purpose of preventing idle or vain attempts of the kind in endless wars, and of actually enabling us to make the peace only the more advantageous to France, by its being a sufficient security to ourselves.

CHAPTER VI. OR, CONCLUSION.

That the plan of peace proposed, independently of maritime limitation, is competent to support itself, and answer its different purposes, in its concomitant advantages, its own essential perfections and means, and the peculiar nature, or practical combinations, of measures, whereby it is intended to operate.

HEAD I.—For it will appear from the thorough examination of the plan, that it is absolutely competent to effect a secure, permanent,

immediate, and highly-advantageous peace. Every part of it is constituted on self-evident truths, and the whole on adequate comprehensive views, on elevated conceptions corresponding with the genuine Scheme of human interests, and on successive combinations of practical measures, more than adequate to accomplish the design. But as it is requisite, in taking a general review of the plan, to make a more particular reference to its different parts, so it may be observed, in the first place, that sufficient arguments have been advanced, why a destructive war should be brought to an early conclusion; and that the plan of peace proposed, not only leaves it in our option, by extraordinary means, to procure infinitely greater advantages than have hitherto been supposed attainable, but ordinary advantages of the most inestimable kind to both nations, such as are sufficient to ensure its permanence, and immediate acceptance. It is incontrovertible, from what has been advanced, that, through the plan, France and Great Britain may acquire whatever territories are requisite for their aggrandizement, with whatever possible means can prove beneficial to their commerce; and, that the enemy is so desirous of peace, he may even be considered as implacable for its attainment, having conquered Prussia, Austria, and Russia, and proceeding even to Hindûstan, in search of it. Imagination cannot suggest more favourable terms for commerce, and national aggrandizement, than those proposed in the plan; or question the present pacific disposition of our enemy, with whom we should refuse to make a peace, solely, because he would convert it into the certain means of our destruction. France requires a long and immediate peace, to regenerate the foundations themselves,

of national and individual welfare, that, in consequence of the revolution, have been subverted throughout the whole of her extensive empire. On the other hand, peace is as desirable to ourselves, were the sole use we could make of it no other than to rectify our affairs in the East Indies; than to prevent the expenses of a war, absolutely ruinous to our Asiatic Empire; than to be able, through a cordial friendship taking place between the French and us, to manage our interests here to the greatest advantage, conciliate the native powers, reduce the vast expenses of our military establishment in Hindûstan, and employ its resources in aid of the empire at large.

The second part is certain postulates, that is, preparatory means requisite to enable us to introduce the whole, or more arduous objects of the proposals of the plan. They, however, are mere conditions of the liberty of advancing our own interests, when no objections can in reason be urged to the contrary; of the liberty of exercising the practical arts of administrative business and improvement; and of sovereigns, and their respective people choosing to understand their true interests so well, as to know they are the same in respect of both, and to unite in each advancing, at the same time, their common and separate advantages. Postulates of the highest importance, though they are now, for the first time, ascertained in their real results through the medium of the present plan! Along with them as the third part of the plan, necessary care has been taken to provide the different aggregate powers or principles, which establish politics as an art, essential in the construction of peace,

when the proper materials shall be explored for making it. These materials are likewise explored, as another part of the plan, in the general views and appropriate means that have been advanced in the fourth chapter for the purpose ; and are farther supported by the discovery of the complete scheme of human interests, the services of which are at hand, as they may be found necessary, to render the peace absolutely perfect, or actually are an essential part of it.

The union of proper political principles, of adequate materials, and of the scheme, produces indeed a wonderful result in forming a peace, which is wholly different from any thing hitherto supposed; and is both highly desirable on its own account, and of those infinitely numerous inappreciable advantages that will effectually support and perpetuate the peace proposed, in a perfectly enlightened state of mankind. But while there is thus no occasion to provide for the farther security of the empire, yet the means are pointed out, by which our maritime power may, at all times, and in all situations, be rendered superior to that of France ; nay, by which, though inferior, it will be found adequate to the support of the empire, and the vindication of all its interests; but, what is still more desirable, by which the future contention of France with us, as a maritime power, it is presumed, will be voluntarily abandoned on her part. Thus we may, with perfect security, make peace with an enemy, who is, beyond question, as desirous of making peace, as it is his present interest to maintain it for a considerable term of years.

Head II. It is also evident, from the consideration of the plan, that its infinite energies naturally tend, beyond the power of human resistance, to produce what may be called a perfect peace ; this being, at the same time, the means of rectifying our affairs, of consummating all our public and private interests, and of establishing that complete state of the prosperity and happiness of the species, which Divine Providence has intended should be the proper employment of mankind in all ages. The accomplishment of the peace proposed will necessarily produce this state, in such a degree, that it will be absolute folly not to complete it by proceeding to its full extent. Thus, a different view o h man affairs presents itself with the peace, productive of infinite good, which should have a peculiar establishment in itself as a new dispensation ; and not be rendered subordinate to the present state of things, which assimilates every thing salubrious with its own malignity. A careful analysis, given in the accompanying printed papers, even shews such a perfect state of human affairs, to be the predestined consummation of both natural and revealed religion, and a fact that ceases to be wonderful, when it is properly examined. For the scheme of human economy and religion being the same, the perfection of either, as destined to take place in the course of time, is a great, but not a preternatural event ; and it deserves to be established as a new dispensation, or new order of things, that ought to assume the Divine direction, or government of the world, since it originally proceeded from God himself, for a purpose so highly worthy of it.

The intention, therefore, through peace, of rectifying our affairs, of consummating all public and private interests, and of instituting an employment intended for mankind in all ages by Divine Providence, is not to be considered as an extraordinary proposal. It, at least, is essential to the ordinary means of national welfare. It is the grand scheme of human economy, which both nations and individuals, finding their interesst concentred in it, ought to support, at all periods, with an effect corresponding to its importance; which they ought both to perfect and perpetuate. Bringing infinite wealth along with it, it requires no reforms to accompany it, that can give offence to any body of men, or individuals whatever, because the interests of all professions and corporations will be consummated by its means. At the same time, it conciliates all persons with the views of religion, as well as of human economy. The profligate, the gambler, the man of the world, will see in those views the intentions of Providence, with which their own reason naturally coincides; while the virtuous and good, with the several religious establishments of all denominations, will support those views, if they do not make an actual mockery of the Divine purposes of human creation. Statesmen themselves, who mean faithfully to discharge their duties to their king and country, will be highly gratified in exchanging their mistaken system of policy, for those theocratic laws, which are the genuine foundations of earthly prosperity and happiness. They will, therefore, be gratified in finding, that the proper use of religion is ascertained in the course of the present eventful period; that the conciliation of its different parties is comprised in the true analysis of religion, as it is alike from God,

whether natural or revealed; and that, in the subversion of the papacy, the supremacy of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland may, through means above pointed out, be reconciled with that of the Protestant religion, and thus the Catholic religion, through the world, be at least rendered tolerant within its own pale.

Head III. It is farther evident, from the consideration of the plan, that, through the discovery of the principles of practical combination, the efficacy of which is shown in the present plan of peace, and of the scheme of human economy in all its aggregate parts, the means are reduced to a mechanical art, whereby the genius of mankind is capable, with absolute certainty, of completing the different objects recapitulated in the two preceding heads, whether of ordinary, or of perfect peace. What I, myself, have effected, in every kind of practical plans conducive to human welfare, shows, to demonstration, that what can be effected by my country, must necessarily be competent to consummate those important interests in all respects. The means, however grand, are yet simple; fall, as it is requisite, into natural combinations; and form themselves into fixed departments. The whole becomes a regular organization: and, when properly examined, like the Newtonian philosophy, proves its divine origin in its own grandeur and simplicity, and in different powers, which, however numerous, are in their extent accurately commensurate to the true code of human economy. As it is completely embraced in a plan of perfect peace, and operates here by different energies, which, as

they are explained under the preceding head, and the plan at large, are effective through their own facilities, and peculiar virtues, for answering every necessary intention proposed to be accomplished; so it thus is reduced to a magnitude altogether consistent with practice: and, as far as the mere plan of peace comprised in it may, as above, be thought too concise, or plain, it will be found to compensate for the defect by its comprehensive efficacies.

Head IV.—It is likewise evident, from the consideration of the plan, that different governments have hitherto pursued the opposite system to what is really peace, and still more to what is perfect peace. They have actually conducted themselves by a deteriorative system of imperfect civilization that, with time, has degenerated into barbarous impolicy. By it they haveeradicated the grand aggregate of good principles in general, and substituted the contrary in their stead, apprehending any other method to be impracticable, or being at least unacquainted with any such method. These, supported as precedents by an indiscriminative approbation, and maintained to be our interests in all exigencies whatever, by an accumulation of ideas favourable for debate, and of literary and oratorical attractions, that are, on a subject of such importance, real delusions, have imposed upon us a state of barbarity, or of ignorance, in innumerable respects. What is highly unfortunate, the public have divided themselves into parties, which all act upon such views, and in the modes now pointed out, even choosing their respective leaders by the same criterions. At

length we have arrived at a period of perpetual war, and of the actual deification of those leaders, when dead. For not only do we suppose ourselves incapable of retrieving our affairs, of procuring peace, and effecting the higher objects of the present plan, but we worship them who have brought us into our present situation. We do not imagine ourselves to be the proper agents for rectifying our affairs, and consummating our different interests, but remove the sup posed burden from our own shoulders to others, who no longer possess the power; incessantly shifting it from one foreign mean to another, like the rude Indian, who fancies the world itself rests upon the back of a frog, which, in its turn, is supported by a tortoise, and this in succession by other animals, none of which surely are able to sustain it.

Hence it became indispensable, in proposing the present plan, freely to censure the system of policy so long pursued by statesmen, and to mention those whom we have in our own times actually deified,—the late Earl of Chatham, Mr. Pitt, and the late ministers with Mr. Fox themselves.

But it would be a gross mistake to suppose, I mean, therefore, to misrepresent the parties, and bring their names into disrepute. I naturally respect my species, as well as freely admit the merit of the high eulogiums the world have bestowed upon their signal talents and virtues; but I contend, that the system upon which they acted was

incompetent, and laid the foundation of the present state of our affairs, or has actually caused it. I do not deny Lord Chatham's just claim to the laurels, wherewith posterity has crowned his reputation. His talents and virtues comprise the highest excellencies of human nature; and their cultivation is more an honour to his own genius, than either to instruction or art. A character like his, must be relished not only by myself, but by all persons: and the elevation of his conceptions would, beyond question, have entered into the different views of the grand system which I now propose, and recommended it, with all his authority, to the country he so singularly loved.

His son, Mr. Pitt, had great sublime views, which sufficiently corresponded with the nature of the plan proposed. But he employed them before he was acquainted with the extensive powers of improvement, in conformity to the erroneous system of policy governments have so universally adopted. He sought, in emulation of the most renowned of his predecessors, to aggrandize his country by extending its commerce, manufactures, and territories; but unfortunately, on all accounts, sought to obtain these ends by war, and the appropriation of the finances of the empire to its support. I wish to attach honour to his name through the most distant times, when I mention he was one of the very few public characters of the age, who were disposed to render me justice, for my long endeavours to serve my country; although it was not my fortune to receive it from causes, for which I cannot attribute blame to myself, but which remove any

asperity I may be thought to bear him on my own account. The late ministers with Mr. Fox were the party whom my own judgment and esteem, as well as those of my country, selected for men possessed of the happiest talents and virtues to rectify public affairs, and institute a new order of administrative government. The present ministers themselves acknowledged the same expectations in resigning to them the administration of affairs. Their failure in those respects, which is universally admitted, can therefore be referred to no other cause, than the actual imperfections of the political system now in use, and their too narrow views, or incompetent adoption of the means of advancing national prosperity, individual happiness, and the interests of the world at large. I may therefore assert, that I do not censure statesmen, but the system they have pursued, in my animadversions upon their conduct, the freedom of which in my writings, is justified by the importance of the plan that is proposed in them.

The conclusion is simple,—that men, because they possess the greatest virtues and talents, are not therefore worthy of public applause, as statesmen ; that they are worthy of this solely because they are acquainted with the true Scheme of Human interests, and versed in the practical arts capable of realizing them ; that, whatever may be the original powers of genius, the sublime operative energies, and the political information of the present ministers, yet these certainly not exceeding the same illustrious qualities in the great characters, above particularly mentioned, ministers should consider they proceed upon the

same system which followed by their predecessors, has directly or indirectly brought us into our present situation, and should, therefore, be exchanged, without delay, for the system now proposed; that, through the adoption of the plan, every commoner, every peer, may render himself a Chatham, a Pitt, a Fox, as he supposes either of the three, if living, could have saved, or aggrandized, the empire, by his peculiar talents; that the plan now proposed is, of all others, the most loyal and constitutional, since its object is to give governments practical perfection, independently of whatever may be their different forms, not to attend to the consideration of their reform, while it is actually engaged in saving them from future destruction, and in consummating the perpetual prosperity and happiness of our own Sovereign and his people, as well as of all other nations; that, at least, having myself, in vain, for so many years, attempted to introduce the Plan by every various scheme I was able to devise, for the purpose of influencing different men and different governments in its favour, I may be permitted, on my part, to support the Plan, in future, upon the strength of its own merits, to believe its own merits, even in my weak hands, are competent to influence others, and endeavour thus, for the honour due to the Almighty, to perfect and perpetuate the peace, prosperity, and happiness of the British Empire, and the whole World.

It naturally follows, that a Plan which would have prevented the past erroneous policy of governments, had it been known, should now, when it is fully matured, be adopted, and regularly carried into

effect, as a national undertaking, the charge of which devolves, of course, upon ministers, and the legislature.—I am, therefore, singularly fortunate, since they have embraced former proposals of mnie of the highest moment and comprehension, to be able to assure them, from the experience of a life devoted to every kind of national improvement, that the present Plan is the most perfect I have had the happiness of discovering; and that it alone, I dare aver, is adequate to our present exigencies, any other being certain to prove ineffectual in that relative situation to other nations, wherein we must always unavoidably remain. They all should, as independent individuals, attend to the merits of the Plan, and give them their warmest support, in a critical situation, like the present, when private interest is, or should, from prudence, be swallowed up in the safety of the empire, and when it is criminal, in the highest degree, to overlook its true resources. And all persons should operate in like manner in bringing it before Parliament, deterred by no fear of being thought singular on an occasion where all ought to be singular, and therefore none would be singular;—where any individual, who might be thought singular to-day, or for an hour, in bringing forward the Plan, will to-morrow, and for ever, be proved wise; to-morrow, and for ever, be reputed the true friend of his country, and mankind; to-morrow, and for ever, become the enlightened servant of his Almighty Creator. They may rest assured of two things: the one, that my real motive for recommending the plan to parliament, is my perfect conviction of the infinite blessings and advantages it

will shower, with unthought-of facilities, upon the empire and the individual, and not that of receiving the debt of justice I owe to my character against misrepresentation, the thanks of parliament for my past services to my country; the other, that nations remain in a mingled state of perfection and barbarity, wherein infinite misery, and privations, unavoidably increase in proportion, as, for absolute phantoms, they disregard wisdom and principle, administrative ability and the essential improvements of human welfare, truth and rational enterprize, solely because they have hitherto not aspired to raise the curtain, which veils the shrine of perfect peace, the shrine of the true original Scheme, or System, of Human Economy.

THE END.

G. SIDNEY, Printer,
Northumberland Street, Strand.